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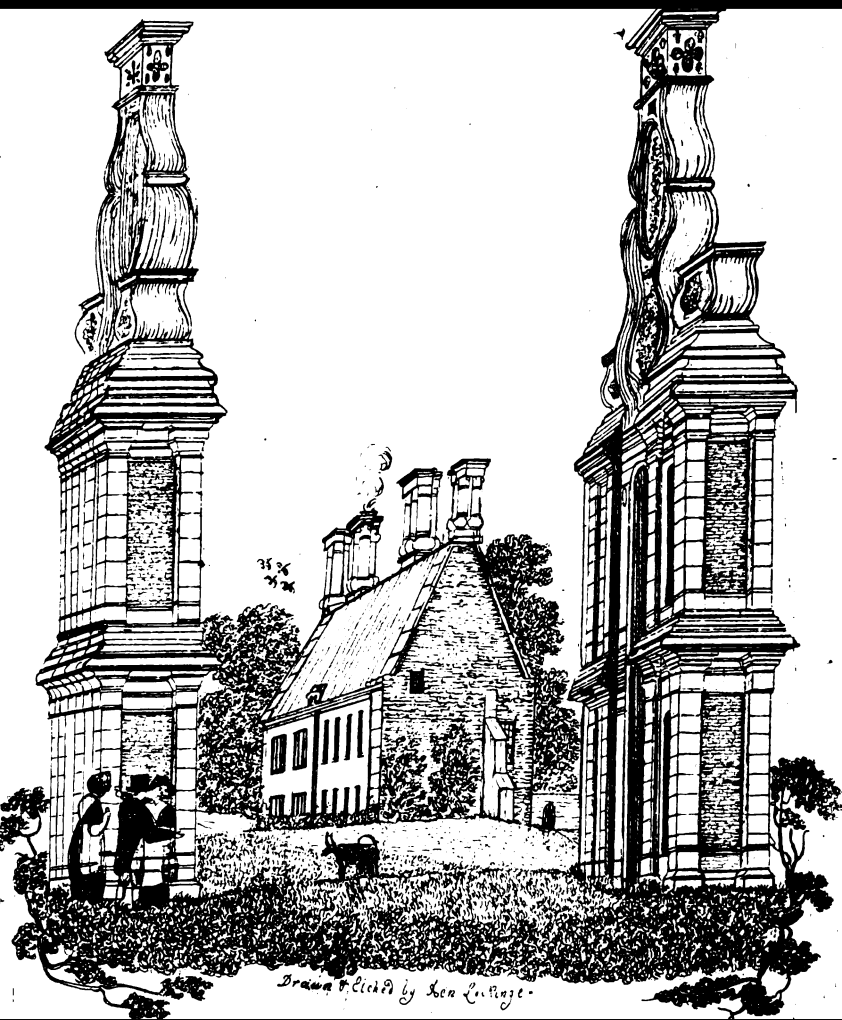
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*Historical gleanings on the
memorable field of Naseby*

Henry Lockinge

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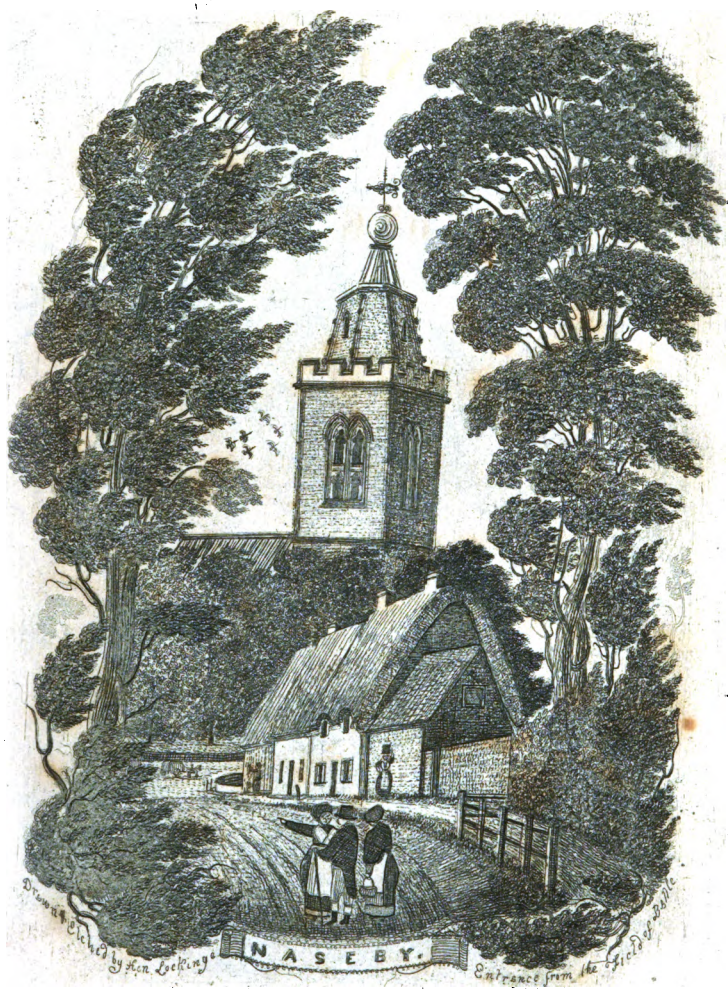


FROM THE GIFT OF

WILLIAM ENDICOTT, JR.

(Class of 1887)

OF BOSTON



0

HISTORICAL GLEANINGS

ON THE

MEMORABLE FIELD

OF

NASEBY,

BY HENRY LOCKINGE, M. A.

LATE CURATE OF NASEBY.

A USEFUL LESSON TO BRITISH KINGS, NEVER TO EXCEED THE BOUNDS
OF THE JUST PREROGATIVE, AND TO BRITISH SUBJECTS, NEVER TO
SWERVE FROM THE ALLEGIANCE DUE TO THE LEGITIMATE MONARCH.
---Obelisk on Naseby Field.

LONDON :

**LONGMAN, REES, ORME, BROWN, AND GREEN,
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1830.

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**GIFT OF
WILLIAM ENDICOTT, JR.**

T. ABBOTT, PRINTER, HARBOROUGH.

TO
JOHN FITZ-GERALD, Esq., M. P.

AND
MARY FRANCES FITZ-GERALD,

LORD AND LADY

OF THE
MANOR OF NASEBY,

THESE
Historical Gleanings,
ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY
THEIR VERY OBEDIENT

AND
FAITHFUL SERVANT,

HENRY LOCKINGE.

TO H. R. H. THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER,
THE TWENTY-SEVEN PEERS,
AND
THE THREE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY DISTIN-
GUISHED COMMONERS AND FRIENDS

who honoured the Historical Gleanings with their patronage and support, the author begs to present his warmest thanks, and to inform them, that by their means his labours have experienced a success, which he had not ventured to anticipate.

To those of his friends who actively interested themselves on his account, he cannot but feel that an especial acknowledgment is due, while he is truly proud to add, that to his distinguished list, no fewer than one hundred and fifty subscribers were added solely by their exertions.

To the Nobility and Gentry who kindly afforded him access to their libraries, or volunteered their assistance to his work by many valuable communications, the author is greatly indebted; and although he may not in all instances have felt himself at liberty to adopt their opinions, yet he begs to assure them the kindness of their intentions, will be very long and gratefully remembered,

Hazlebeeck Rectory, Jan. 30th, 1830.

PREFACE.

THE present work has surmounted no ordinary obstructions. The general depression of the times—the existence of a publication under a similar title—a notion that its interest must be merely local—and that such factious recollections are unwisely revived ; these are objections which have been opposed to its progress, and which unanswered might be deemed unanswerable. Against that which is founded upon the prevalent distress, I have no argument to urge, for, however philosophers may contend for the superiority of the mind to the body, when their claims come into collision, it does not require a philosopher to determine whose will be the most imperative. With regard to the existence of a similar work, it is known to many, perhaps to most, of my readers, that some years ago the *History and Antiquities of Naseby* by the reverend John Mastin, issued from the press, passed rapidly through a first edition, and is now become scarce in its second. Upon the merits of that publication it is no part of my business to

decide ; but I may be permitted to affirm, that the two works, as their titles distinctly imply, possess but very little matter in common. Mr. Mastin has devoted two-thirds of his pages to parochial history, and the remainder to the battle. In my little volume, its historical celebrity is the main object, and only such a general description of the place is given as appeared necessary to reconcile those, who have been long accustomed to view its historic details, through the medium of one hundred and thirty pages of topographical matter. As to its embracing merely a local attraction, if any historic event be permitted to interest beyond its immediate scene of action, and if the importance of such event, and the latitude of such interest, be measured by its consequences, there is not, in the history of Britain, an occurrence to dispute the preeminence with the battle of Naseby, or that might gratify a more extensive curiosity. If we take a survey of recent events, what has Waterloo, that field of pilgrims and poets, left us to contemplate, but the cheerless transition from a glorious war to an inglorious peace, and the insertion of a wide chasm between words hitherto regarded as inseparably united "*peace and plenty*"? Stretching our view to a more remote period, we find the battle of Hastings presenting us with a Norman King for a Saxon—a William for a Harrold ; and the plains of Redmore transferring the crown from the Red rose to the White—from the Plantagenets to the Tudors : but the decisive conflict at Naseby razed the very foundations of monarchy—brought the sovereign to

the scaffold—laid the aristocracy prostrate at the feet of faction—severed the sacred bonds of social life—and left its details recorded upon our annals in streams of blood. With regard to the objection to my labours drawn from the danger and impolicy of reviving past scenes of anarchy, it were idle to spend much pains in detecting its absurdity ; but I cannot help remarking, that men might have been moved by such a precedent, had its result been less discouraging, or had similar causes of excitement now existed : but those causes have been long and happily removed ; and besides, what were the advantages gained by either party in the civil commotions of the seventeenth century, even when those causes might be supposed to exist ? The sovereign terminated his life upon the scaffold, and his successor wasted the flower of his age in the obscurity of exile ; the leaders of the opposite party shared no better a fate ; while the people, after enduring through several years the extremes of privation and distress, discovered that they had only razed one system of misgovernment, to rear up another—and that incomparably more despotic and dangerous.

Thus have I attempted to remove those obstructions which might affect the success of my labours ; their unskilful accomplishment, however, still remains, and with it the duty which devolves upon me of explanation and apology. In the first part of the work I have furnished my readers with a description of the village of Naseby—not a minute historical account,

for I know of no claims which it has to a circumstantial attention, but merely such a general view as may serve to gratify that propensity to inspect the site of historic incidents, which seems to prevail through every shade of cultivated intellect. In this department of my labours, I have had occasion to lament the very few instances in which my opinions will be found in unison with those of my late reverend friend, the author of the *History and Antiquities of Naseby*; but the claims of truth will not be diverted by those of friendship and regard. The second part is devoted to the causes of the civil war—not to a detail replete with novelty, for what novelty could be expected, but merely such a concise view as may serve to impress the subject upon the minds of the more uninformed, or restore it in those memories where it has been effaced. The historian may perhaps complain that several important events have been wantonly curtailed, and others of a subordinate rank as freely expanded; but his candour, it is hoped, will lead him to adjudge this an undoubted privilege of the Historical Gleaner, according as the subject may bear upon, or recede from, his main object—which is here the Field of Naseby. From the alterations which have been constantly made in the sentiments and language, in order to preserve the connexion; and from the nature and design of this part of my labours, which must chiefly consist of materials selected from the writings of others, it is scarcely incumbent on me to apologise for omitting to insert, in all instances, the names of those authors from

whom I have borrowed, or of even distinguishing such, unless it be in entire sentences, by the usual marks of quotation. Should, however, this licence enjoyed by others be complained of in me, the grievance admits of an easy redress—such sentiments as appear to be stamped with an inferior character, and only such, the critical reader will kindly place to my account. The third part comprises a detail of the battle from the copious writings of a Round-head, but corrected in its discrepancies by the least questionable authorities amongst the Cavaliers. This method appeared to spare me the necessity of furnishing the accounts of each party, and besides saving considerable space, seemed to embrace the additional advantage of enabling the reader at one view to see the conflicting statements—weigh their claims—and determine for himself. I have not hesitated in dividing the longer extracts, for the purpose of inserting other matter, wherever it appeared expedient to preserve the chronological order of the story, but the extracts themselves I have in no other sense ventured to mutilate or disturb. In the fourth and last part, which includes under the head of consequences of the Battle, not only those events which were really such, but also several possessing scarcely any other claims to the distinction, than their subsequent occurrence, the reader will perhaps censure the tedious pains I have taken in tracing the grave of the Protector, but he will suffer himself to be reminded, that however uninteresting that occurrence may be to those who are more remote, yet that is an

object in which the celebrity of Naseby is very nearly concerned, and one which has long been with those who are partial to such discussions, a subject of earnest controversy. To whatever length the reader may accompany me in this inquiry, I have at least satisfied myself, that Naseby has not less disputable claims to the celebrity of the Battle, than to the ashes of its hero.

I now throw my work upon the clemency of the reader, entreating of him to consider how difficult a task has been assigned to me—to blend the expectations of the local and remote—to interest the reader who knows everything and who knows nothing—but above all to steer safely between the virulence of party spirit—Scylla and Charybdis. Some will complain that I have given too little that is local, and others too much—one will censure my historical observations as simple, another will condemn them as abstruse—and however careful I may have been in adjudging the claims of conflicting parties, this will discover in my decisions an inclination to the Cavalier—that to the Round-head. To the indulgence of the reader, however, its many errors look for refuge, and if that be denied, their author has only to console himself with the reflection, if it afford consolation, that whatever judgments may be visited upon his performance, its merits will have but little reason to complain.

HISTORICAL GLEANINGS.

PART I.

A

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF NASEBY.

Where yon blue field scarce meets our streaming eyes,
A fatal name for England, Naseby lies.
There hapless Charles beheld his fortunes cross'd,
His forces vanquished, and his kingdom lost.

BP. BENNET

NASEBY, in Domesday book named Navesberie, in later records Navesby, Navesbee, and Nathesby, is situated on the summit, and at, or near, the centre of an extensive and elevated plain, which stretches along the north-western verge of the county of Northampton, in the hundred of Guilsborough, and, as to its ecclesiastical division, in the deanery of Haddon. It is seventy-eight miles from the Metropolis, six

B

from Market Harborough, and nearly equidistant from the towns of Northampton, Kettering, Rugby, Lutterworth, and Daventry. The village, which contains according to the latest census 139 houses, and 697 inhabitants, chiefly agricultural labourers and mechanics, has little in itself to distinguish it from others of similar dimensions. It occupies, though not perhaps the highest in England, as some have imagined, yet unquestionably a very elevated site; and the acknowledged derivation of its name,* has induced a belief, that its geographical position in the Island, is nearly, if not exactly, central.† I am however, rather inclined to believe its name assigned to the central situation which it is acknowledged to occupy within its own parochial boundaries, and more particularly since we find, that the names of places derived from the Saxon, have in general a reference to some internal peculiarity, very seldom to any external relation.

A vague tradition has of late years gained, that a hamlet named Knutcoat,‡ engrossed, at one period, the southern portion of the parish of Naseby, including within its now forgotten precincts, a parochial

* From the Saxon word *nafe* a centre.

† These positions have been variously assigned. Camden and Stukely are, however, authorities equal to any; the former of which contends for Helidon downs near Daventry, and the latter for High-cross a Roman station about six miles west of Lutterworth.

‡ Part of the village to the south, occasionally retains the name of Knutcoat.

chapel ; and a persevering advocate of this tradition,* has adduced in its confirmation, the disinterment of a human skeleton, many years ago, in a very perfect state of preservation. The only conclusion however I have been enabled to deduce from thence is, that this had been a more recent interment than what he would permit himself to imagine ; while the situation in which he describes it to have been discovered, scarcely more than two feet from the surface, seems to sanction a presumption, that it had been consigned to the grave unattended by the usual rites and customs of Christian sepulture ; and therefore that it might be very probably some straggling victim to the sanguinary conflict of 1645. At all events I cannot regard this solitary instance of exhumation, or the fanciful discovery of an old foundation, as of any weight against that powerful mass of negative evidence by which it is opposed. In the earliest records of the place, which commence with the conqueror's survey, there is not the slightest allusion to either hamlet or chapel ; nor have its most zealous advocates, after repeated and diligent search within the supposed boundary of its consecrated ground,† been able to discover one solid argument in its support.

The above tradition has however given strength to

* The late esteemed vicar, the reverend John Mastin, author of the History and Antiquities of Naseby.

† The site of a windmill now standing on the south-eastern side of the village.

an opinion, that Naseby must have been at one period a place of greater extent and importance than it now is ; and certainly if it be coupled with the occasional discovery of foundations beyond its present boundary to the south, and its acknowledged privilege of a weekly market some generations past,* there may appear to be some reasonable grounds upon which to rest such a conjecture. Its register, however, which records the increase and decrease of the parish through several centuries,† discovers no signs whatever of this pristine glory ; and besides I am inclined to believe, that the antient extent and importance of a place, is in general pretty accurately measured by the number, dimensions, and endowments of its sacred and charitable edifices, and according to this standard, Naseby seems to have had no pretensions to any other rank on the scale of national importance, than that which it at present occupies.

The antient records of the parish of Naseby,‡ civil and ecclesiastical, are sufficiently ample, but

* A weekly market on the Tuesday was obtained by the interest of Roger de Lacy, its manorial Lord, in the fifth year of King John. The old mereat cross, formerly standing in a spacious area of the Village, is now stationed at its eastern entrance. Lacy Roger Navesby mereat. carta et libertates, anno 5 Joh. m. Harl. ms. 744.---*Records in the Tower.*

† It commences with the 24th of July, 1563.

‡ Copies of these documents, recording the successive proprietors, patrons, and incumbents of Naseby from the date of the Conqueror's Survey, may be found in Bridge's Northamptonshire, page 575, whence they have been extracted by Martin into his History and Antiquities of Naseby page 65.

as they are already before the public in works to which access may be readily obtained, I have been induced to waive their insertion, and I shall be very easily pardoned in this omission, by even the more curious of my readers, when they reflect upon the space their insertion must necessarily occupy, and that the antient records of Naseby have no stronger claims upon their interest than those of any other place; they commence and cease long before its celebrity was established. I shall, however, devote a few pages to the description of what are almost universal objects of inquiry—

ITS ARCHITECTURAL ANTIQUITIES.

THERE are few places calculated to repay the pursuits of the antiquary with a greater measure of disappointment than the village of Naseby. If we except its records aforementioned, there is scarcely any proof of its existence beyond the memorable, but comparatively recent, date of 1645. Not a trace of antient subjugation has been discovered within its almost boundless precincts,—not even one solitary mound which the fertile imagination of the most determined antiquary may torture into the remains of a Danish encampment, or the more valuable treasure house of a Roman tumulus. Even its parochial church, generally the first and most prolific object of antiquarian research, discovers not one vestige of remote antiquity. It is dedicated to All Saints; but its ar-

chitectural embellishments are so sparingly scattered, and of so anomalous a character, as to preclude the possibility of any thing like a satisfactory conjecture at its date. I should, however, be scarcely inclined to place it further back than the commencement of the sixteenth century; and my reasons, independent of architectural considerations, are these:—In the eighth year of Henry the sixth, the patronage of this church was given to Combe Abbey, to which it was soon after appropriated and a vicarage ordained.* At, or soon after, this period I am therefore inclined to place the erection of the church; and in this opinion I feel strengthened by the incomplete state of the spire, whose erection would of course cease with the resources of the Abbey, at the general dissolution of monastic endowments by the arbitrary and rapacious Henry the eighth. Notwithstanding, however, this general dearth of what may be unquestionably termed antiquities, the interior of the church contains two or three monumental inscriptions, which it might be deemed censurable to leave unnoticed.

Upon an oblong gravestone, in the middle of the north aisle, are the figures of a man and woman in brass, at whose feet, upon a plate of the same metal, we trace the following specimen of sepulchral composition:—

* Coombe Abbatia in Com. Warr. pro. Ecclesia de Navesby in Com. North. approprianda per H. 6. A. 8.

Harl. MS. 744.---*Records in the Tower, folio 195.*

Hic **jacent** **Johes** **Olyber** **Junior** **qui** **quidem** **Johannes** **obit** **discesimo** **quarto** **die** **mensis** **Augusti** **anno** **dui** **Millimo** **CCCCo.** **M.D.** **et** **Agnes** **uxor** **ejus** **que** **obit** **..** **die** **mensis** **..** **anno** **dui** **Millimo** **CCCCo.** **..** **quorum** **animabus** **propicietur** **Deus.** **Amen.**

At the east end of this aisle, a freestone covered with common marble,* and embellished with a profusion of heraldic devices,† tells us where

Lyeth **John** **Shuckbrugh** **of** **Navesbee** **Gent.** **who** **departed** **this** **lyf** **in** **the** **saythe** **of** **Jesus** **Christ** **the** **XXV** **of** **September** **1576,** **leaving** **unto** **the** **tuission** **of** **the** **Almyghyte** **the** **earthly** **burden** **of** **Joane** **his** **wyle,** **III** **sonnes,** **and** **IIII** **daughters.**

In the chancel, upon a large freestone near to the south door, a legible inscription in capitals informs that there

LYETH THE BODY OF EDWARD SHUCKBRUGH OF NAVESBY ESQ; RENOWNED FOR THE ANTIQUITIE OF HIS FAMILIE WHICH HATH FLOURISED THERE IN A

* Mastin has copied the error of Bridges, in denominating this an *altar* monument. It is merely an oblong gravestone inlaid with brass, of which, however, very little now remains.

† On a chevron three cinquefoils; and on a canton ermine a fleur de lis, quartering, 1. frette, 2. three owls, 3. As the first, Shuckbrugh. Crest, out of a Ducal coronet, an Elephant's head.

PERPETUAL DESCENT FOR MANY YEARS WHO HAD TWO WIVES; BY HIS FIRST WIFE MARY HE HAD THREE SONNES EUSEBIE, EDWARD, AND JOHN, AND FOURE DAUGHTERS ELISABETH, KNIGHTLEY, ANNE, AND SARAH: AND BY HIS SECOND WIFE DOROTHY ONE SONNE HENRY AND ONE DAUGHTER DOROTHY, AND DEPARTED THE 25th OF APRIL 1658. BEING AGED 86 AND ABOVE, AND REST HERE TILL HE RISE TO IMMORTALITIE.

These are the only monumental wrecks worthy of remark, if we except a large black marble slab close to that of the forementioned John Shuckbrugh, whose time-worn surface, however, imparts to its readers little more information than what the poet had gained a score of centuries ago,

"Tempus edax rerum."

If, however, the church of Naseby has little to gratify the curiosity of the antiquary, it has much to command the veneration of the Christian. The dilapidated grandeur of antiquity, he considers profitably exchanged for a neat and durable edifice adapted to its sacred object; those grotesque, and often indecent, efforts of the chisel which characterise the florid reign of English architecture,* he cheerfully

* The term Gothic originates with the Italian writers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, who applied the expression of "La Maniera Gotica" in contempt to all the all works

foregoes ; and whilst he paces its interior in the expectation of encountering the crumbling monument of some decapitated Templar reposing on his granite pillow, he is agreeably surprised to find within its ample area, newly pewed, and endowed with every convenience for social worship, the more noble monument of individual munificence.*

The exterior of the church is distinguished from that of most other villages, only by its decollated spire, scarcely half its projected elevation being now extant. Some persons have assigned this decapitation to the disastrous effects of the battle, but the discovery of certain dates upon its roof, prior to the convulsions of the seventeenth century, seems to discountenance such a conjecture ; and we are therefore compelled to ascribe it to some more inglorious cause—the incapacity of its foundation to support a complete spire, or the insufficiency of its funds to erect one. Absurdity, however, has accomplished what architecture could not ; and the unseemly stump has in later years gained some pretension to pyramidal elegance by the erection of a main post and four

of art of the middle ages. This style of architecture, however, would be more properly called English, for if it had not its origin in this country, it certainly arrived at maturity here. — *See the Preface to Essays on Gothic Architecture by WHARTON, BENTHAM, GROSE, and MILNER.*

* The church has been recently restored and beautified by its manorial lord, John Fitzgerald Esq. M. P. Such instances of pious liberality may tend to avert some national curse. Horace tells the Roman people,

Dii multa neglecti dederunt
Hesperiae mala luctuosæ.

supporters raised about fifteen feet above its summit, upon which is poised a huge ball of copper,* surmounted with a weather vane and the usual accompaniment of N. E. W. S.† Thus much for the antiquities of Naseby; I next proceed to present my readers with a sketch of

ITS SCENERY.

THE painter of landscape, is here destined to share in the disappointment of the antiquary. The features of this memorable plain, are in the highest degree harsh and repulsive; and having traced his outline, in a form somewhat resembling a parallelogram, including several thousand acres of undulating heath,‡ he has little else to do in order to complete his picture of Naseby, than to intersect its expansive surface with the profitable uniformity of a recent enclosure, bristled here and there with a solitary bush of furze, and disfigured, at no great distance from its centre, with a huge mass of densely populated dwellings, which grow as it were out of the kealy soil upon

* This ball is said to be capable of containing 60 gals. ale measure, and was brought from Boulogne by Sir Gyles Allington when that place was taken by the English in the reign of Hen. VIII A. D. 1544.

† Virgil says "*Fama per aera volat*"; and it may be amusing to remark, that our word NEWS is derived from the initials of the four quarters of the compass.

‡ Mr. Mastin has computed the circumference of the plain at twenty miles, and its contents at scarcely less than six thousand acres; but by an award of the commissioners under the act of enclosure in the year 1822 its area is stated at 3375A. 3R 13P. and the extent of its boundary must of course submit to a proportionate reduction.

which they stand, and of which they are in general formed.* It must, however, be admitted, that there are positions in the midst of this desolate tract, which embrace prospects of unrivalled interest and extent, but they are unhappily so deeply involved in the shades of distance, that the artist only feels himself like Moses on the sterile heights of Nebo, contemplating a land which he is not permitted to enjoy; and having traced its distant hills along the horizon of his paper, he is forced to hide the only objects worthy of his foreground beneath the azure veil of a neutral tint. In the meantime, the historian mounts the highest eminence of the plain, and thence, aided by the successive revolutions of light and shade,† he enumerates the following scenes of historic fame within the boundless sweep of

ITS UNRIVALLED PROSPECT.‡

1. IN a direction nearly south, immediately beyond the town of Northampton, which is in general dis-

* After the pains Mr. Burke, in his treatise on the Sublime and Beautiful, has taken to set us right. It is surprising that he should be so seldom found, who merits the distinction of "a refined judge", or the poets honourable epithet of "Elegans formarum spectator". Mr. Mastin describing this memorable plain says, "it is in summer a most enchanting spot: in short one is tempted to exclaim 'tis beauty all", which notion of beauty he presently analyzes into "a field without a hedge or a tree for more than a mile together, a few scattered thorns only, patches of gorse and furze; bad roads in the winter, and a deep heavy country".

† About three o'clock P. M. is usually considered the most favourable time.

‡ Camden and Morton particularly distinguish the prospects of this highly favoured county; especially those of Archester field and Overstone.

tinctly visible, lie the distant hills of Hardingstone, at whose foot, in the year 1440, the spirited consort of Henry VI. attacked the formidable forces of the young Earl of March. The contest was fierce and bloody, but by the treachery of Edmund Lord Grey of Ruthen, who deserted his unhappy master, victory declared in favour of the house of York. Thousands were slain or drowned in the river Nen, among them the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lords Beaumont, Shrewsbury, and Egremont.*

II. Nearly in the same direction, at the distance of about eight miles from Naseby, the palace of Holdenby is readily distinguished by its numerous and stupendous piles of turret-like chimneys. This appears from Norden's description,† and its remaining vestiges to have been a most magnificent structure. It was erected by Sir Christopher Hatton, who says that it was intended to be the last and greatest monument of his youth. The manor and house of Holdenby subsequently devolved to the crown, and formed at one time a palace, and at another a prison, for the unfortunate Charles the first.‡

* This is usually denominated the battle of Northampton.

† See the *Speculi Britanniae*, or a delineation of Northamptonshire, by the travayle of John Norden in the yeare 1660.

‡ During a recent excursion to Holdenby Palace, I was delighted to discover the apartments of the royal prisoner in a most respectable state of preservation, and its traditionary repute detailed by its hospitable proprietor with accuracy, intelligence, and an ardent attachment to the memory of his royal predecessor.

III. Westward of Naseby, at a distance of twelve or fourteen miles, the celebrated entrenchment of Borough hills may be frequently discerned. This Mr. Pennant imagines to be the strong hold of the Romans called by Tacitus Benvenna, from its British name Ben-avon, or the head of the river. These works, perhaps the most extensive in the kingdom, enclose a beautiful area nearly oval, and singular not less for their elevation than their extent. From the vicinity of an old Roman road, this fortress has been generally accounted Roman, but its form, in the opinion of Pennant, seems rather to assign it to a British origin, though doubtless occupied by Roman and other armies, and last of all by that of Charles I., a few days previous to the memorable battle of Naseby.

IV. In a direction north-west, the noble tower of Lutterworth church appears, at a distance of somewhat more than ten miles. Here it was that the reformer Wickliffe publicly and intrepidly dared to oppose the tyrannical usurpations of the church of Rome. His pulpit is still preserved with religious veneration. He was Rector of the place, and died there of an attack of the palsy, which seized him as he was hearing mass, just at the elevation of the host, on the 31st of December, 1387. The doctrines he promulgated being afterwards condemned by the council of Constance, his bones which had lain in the earth nearly half a century were ordered to be taken from the grave, and, after being burnt, were thrown into the neighbouring brook.

V. Upon the azure hills about six miles west of Lutterworth, we discern the site of High-cross, which was erected in the year 1712, in commemoration of the peace restored by her majesty Queen Anne, but whose more important object may be gathered from the following translation of a Latin inscription upon its pedestal.*

“If traveller you search for the footsteps of the antient Romans, here you may behold them; for here their most celebrated ways, crossing one another, extend to the utmost boundaries of Britain; here the Venones kept their quarters; and at the distance of one mile from hence, Claudius, a certain commander of a cohort, seems to have had a camp towards the street, and towards the fosse a tomb.”

VI. The blue hills of Charnwood forest, are distinctly visible, at a distance somewhat more than twenty-five miles, in a direction nearly north†. At the foot of their highest eminence lies Bradgate park, in which are the remains of a magnificent and spacious mansion, which was destroyed by fire some years since. The park, in Leland's time, was “six miles in cumpuss,” and at the time of that tourists visit “the foundation and walls of a great gate house of brike” were left unfinished. This mansion is

* The base is all that now remains, and I believe myself correct in stating, that the pillar was dismounted by a storm some years ago.

† Their remotest point cannot be far short of forty miles from the place of view.

known to the historian as the birth place of the amiable, but unfortunate, Lady Jane Dudley, commonly called Lady Jane Grey. The hills of Charnwood, stretching to a considerable distance northward, discover to us also the route of the defeated monarch Charles I., who after the battle of Naseby fled to Leicester, thence across the forest to Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and so into Wales.

Besides these objects of greater, and several of less, historical import, the eminence of Naseby commands a distinct view of the following churches (forty in number), and varying in their distance from one to twenty-five miles :—

Thornby, Cold-Ashby, Welford, South-Kilworth, North-Kilworth, Bitteswell, Misterton, Gilmorton, Husbands-Bosworth, Theddingworth, Sibbertoft, Gumley, Kibworth, Houghton, Carlton, Norton, Gaulby, Noseley, Church-Langton, Tur-Langton, Holt, Dingley, Brampton, Farndon, Oxendon, Desborough, Arthingworth, Harrington, Kelmarsh, Haslebeeck, Lamport, Brixworth, Spratton, All-Saints, Northampton, St.Sepulchres, ditto, St. Giles ditto, Hanslope,* East-Haddon, Guilsborough, and of course Naseby.

In her progress towards modern improvement, it has been frequently remarked, that Naseby stands a

† This fine spire was struck by lightning in June 1804, and the greater part falling upon the body of the church, did it considerable damage.

century behind her neighbours. The village in general bears a rude and primitive appearance, old customs and manners are in frequent instances retained, education has been, until very lately, disregarded, its expansive plain unenclosed, and its roads, especially in the winter season, almost impassable. In short I am inclined to believe, that were we to remove the many improvements effected during the last few years, the historian might have the pleasure of contemplating the place very nearly as it appeared at the period in which it closed the convulsions of the seventeenth century. Nature also appears to be here sparing in the distribution of her bounties, and tardy in her operations; and wherever the eye of the natural historian be directed, he is forced to confess, that the unpromising sterility of the plain lies deeper than its surface. To account for this singular dearth, might be difficult, and would be here out of place. Some have been ready to ascribe it to a curse invoked from heaven by the share it bore in accomplishing the disastrous fortunes of the unhappy Charles; but we will leave these poets and visionaries in the enjoyment of their ready solution of an abstruse and tedious question, hoping the memory of the ill-fated monarch, when we come to the enquiry, may owe its claims upon our veneration rather to the sober conclusions of reason, than the airy visions of rashness. But although of inferior interest, I feel that my description of Naseby might be deemed incomplete, were I not to exhibit the more prominent features of

ITS NATURAL HISTORY.*

Mr. Mastin, in speaking of the natural productions of Naseby, remarks that "the nature of the soil is various as to the upper or vegetable stratum ; and that no field in Northamptonshire,† as is generally allowed, would answer better by inclosure. Here is good strong land ; fine slades for meadows ; red hills, good for turnips and artificial grasses ; black woodcock, or falling land, now grass, but much to be improved by plowing. Some few bogs, which might either by under-draining be laid dry, or rendered still more valuable by being planted."

"Here is dug excellent gravel, which, used in a proper season, binds like a floor of plaster. Good sand for building ; stone very little ; a kind of limestone has been found, but in quantities too small to answer digging."

"There are several sorts of peat-earth, some, particularly the upper spit, very full of fibrous roots

* With whatever deference I may advance my opinions upon other subjects, I feel that a particular apology ought to preface my remarks upon this. Natural History has in my studies never occupied any other than a subordinate place. I am not however without hopes, that my very brief and unskilful observations may be the means of exciting those who may have leisure, to the more vigorous pursuit of a study, as instructive as it is entertaining, and that they may, by the detection of my errors, be assisted in correcting their own. I have been guided in my classification &c. by Morton, whose natural history of the county, besides the advantage of locality, appeared to have the additional one of simplicity and clearness.

† The inclosure which took place some years back, is rapidly realising my friends anticipations.

with but little soil ; others, lower, have the appearance of rotten saw-dust, mixed with a kind of red moss, wet and heavy when first dug, but when dry, becomes light and hard. There is another kind but inferior being rather too full of clay. This appears to be the natural earth, which seems to corroborate what Mr. Morton says, 'we cannot but conclude that they (the strata of peat) were framed at the same time, that is, at the general compilation of the strata, and have not been produced since, either here or there, by inundation or deterration,'

Amongst its more amusing, though less useful productions, the native fossils of Naseby come first under consideration ; and these it may be remarked are rather numerous than rare. The Belemnites or Thunderstone, is to be met with here in some variety ; not unfrequently a good specimen of the Astroites or Starry stone ; and a great number of semipellucid flints of almost every figure. I have also discovered, though very rarely, a beautiful specimen of the Porpites or Button stone. Its extraneous fossils, of the bivalvular kind, consist chiefly of the large, round, and convex Ostracites generally found in a stratum of gravel six or seven feet in depth. Sometimes, though rarely, they are found with the valves united like those of the live oyster, and these when divided exhibit the same vestigia of the tendons, whereby the animal is fastened to its shell. That specimen of the Ostracitæ, of a rather long and narrow shape, vulgarly called the Kite shell, is also to be met with

here, in some instances with the outside worn perfectly smooth, and incrustated over with a rough sparry substance. This, an eminent writer on natural history observes, is a plain indication that these shells originally came from the sea, it being not unusual to meet with the same kind of shell thus smooth upon the shores, a smoothness which they owe to their being continually beaten and rolled up and down by the waves.* Some varieties of the Conchites or Cockle-shell, and a few ordinary specimens of the Mutes or Muscle-shell, complete our catalogue of the bivalvular fossils. The turbinated fossil-shells, are also here found in some few of their almost endless variety ; but if we except, in very rare instances, a curious specimen of the Ammonitæ, few have been discovered within the boundaries of Naseby worthy of remark.

Mr. Morton, in his natural history of Northamptonshire, remarks, in reference to its waters, that there are not above six or seven villages in the whole county, that have not an abundant supply ; and certainly Naseby is by no means to be numbered in the arid minority. Its springs are, however, rather remarkable for their number than their properties, and better adapted to refresh the browsing herd than

* Dr. Woodward, from the like observations upon shells thus worn and enclosed in stone, has ingeniously and rationally drawn a very considerable inference ; viz. that before the Deluge, the sea was agitated with tides, or flux and reflux, as it now is.—See WOODWARD'S *Natural History of the Earth*, page 53.

to gratify the spirit of analytical inquiry. Mr. Mastin asserts it to be distinguished in this particular,* but Morton, whose indefatigable researches extended throughout the county with minute exactness, affords not, to those of Naseby, even an inferior place in his ample catalogue of remarkable springs.† Its historians, however, baffled in one expedient, have hit upon another in order to maintain its aquatic celebrity of the place; and the sources of not fewer than four rivers “of great private as well as public utility,” have been traced to the springs of Naseby: viz.: the Avon, the Welland, the Nen, Nene, or Nyne, and the Isebrook. Mastin, however, by disclaiming its groundless pretensions to the Welland, reduces that celebrity to three, and Morton rejects also its claims upon the Isebrook; but after a diligent survey, I am fully prepared to maintain, that Naseby has no manner of pretension to more than one: “Parturiunt montes nascatur ridiculus mus.” The “soft flowing Avon” unquestionably springs within her boundaries,* but if it be admitted, as it must, that each river, however numerous its tributary streams, have but one head-spring or source, and

* See MASTIN's History and Antiquities of Naseby, page, 32 and Preface.

† See MORTON's Natural History of Northamptonshire, page 273.

* This beautiful stream, celebrated for its watering Stratford the birth-place of our immortal bard, flows from a spring called the Avon Well near the church, which has been, since the commencement of Mr. Fitz Gerald's manorial sovereignty, formed into a handsome basin, decorated with a stone swan, and tastefully screened by a growing Shrubbery.

that such source be determined by its remotest distance from the rivers outlet, and its more powerful and direct current to the main channel, then I am decidedly of opinion, that the source of the Nen, is to be traced to the Hartwell springs near Staverton,[†] that of Isebrook, to a spring called Isewell in the parish of Clipston, and the Welland, to the vicarage gardens, or at least to the parish of Sibbertoft.

Scrough hill spring flows from the side of a hill so named, about one mile north of the village. Its petrifying repute is beyond doubt fabulous; and although the ochreous sediment with which its channel abounds, might appear to countenance a generally received opinion of its possessing a chalybeate quality, yet we are to remember that although this may be a test frequently, or even generally, yet that it is not always to be depended on;* and certainly my inquiries, probably more diligent than experienced, have been unable to discover, if at all, at least in no quantity worth mentioning, the presence of those properties which constitute the virtues of the chalybeate water.

The waters of St. Deny's well might be, as we are told they once were, in great repute as a cold bath; but their celebrity as far as I can learn did not

[†] I am confirmed in my opinion by Morton in his history of Northamptonshire, see page, 3. The source of the Nen has been erroneously ascribed also to West Haddon, Draughton, Daventry, Fawsley, and other places.

• See MORTON'S Natural History, page 285.

long survive that age of credulity and superstition. when their papal consecration would alone be sufficient to insure their efficacy. At all events their sanative powers, have not been so esteemed of late years, as to perpetuate their benefits. The well is now filled up, and its spring, which has found another outlet, is scarcely known.*

Mr. Mastin observes that "several other springs here, are remarkable as to the qualities of their waters; one the lower-spring in Naseby town, called Warrens well, is of so inviting a nature, that no cattle, even strange ones, will pass by without drinking, if permitted." Morton, however, makes not the least mention of this singular quality; and certainly, as far as my observations have extended, it appears to have had no other existence than in the imagination of my reverend friend. Both the above writers refer to a certain blue tinge observable upon its surface, but even that is now entirely lost.†

The native plants of Naseby, are numerous, and,

* This well was situated about one mile west of the village.

† Gynewell spring is slightly tinged with blue, and Morton observes that we frequently meet with water of this complexion in Northamptonshire. He attributes it to particles of the same kind with those that constitute the Bluish oil or cremor we so frequently find upon the surface of Stagnant water; which having some at one time, some at another, disentangled themselves from the other ordinary vegetable particles that they lay intermixed with emerge and by little and little from that oily cremor which we see floating upon the surface of standing water and particularly that which has still a slight tincture of blue.

in some few instances, rare, I shall not, however, detain such of my readers as may have no taste for botanical pursuits with a descriptive detail of each particular plant, but shall compress my communication upon this subject, into the space of a general catalogue, which they may peruse, or if they please pass over, and leave the Botanist to his own amusement.*

NATIVE PLANTS.

LINN.	ENG.
<i>Pinguicula vulgaris</i>	Yorkshire sanicle
<i>Sclanhus compressus</i>	Compressed bog-rush
<i>Scripus acicularis</i>	Least club-rush
<i>Nardus stricta</i>	Mat-grass
<i>Alopecurus myosuroides</i>	Field fox-tail grass
<i>Aira caryophylla</i>	Silver hair-grass
<i>Festuca decumbens</i>	Decumbent fescue grass
<i>Avena pubescens</i>	Rough oat grass
<i>Plantago medid</i>	Hoary plantain
<i>Sanguisorba officinalis</i>	Meadow sanguisorba
<i>Rhamnus catharticus</i>	Purging rhamnus
<i>Parnassia palustris</i>	Grass of parnassus
<i>Triglochin palustre</i>	Marsh triglochin
<i>Sedum album</i>	White stone crop
—— rupestre	Rock stone crop
<i>Papaver argemone</i>	Rough poppy
<i>Ranunculus hirsutus</i>	Hairy ranunculus
<i>Geranium dissectum</i>	Jagged cranes bill

* For this catalogue we are indebted to the late celebrated botanist Mr. Dickson of the British Museum, whose labours added upwards of three hundred plants to the *Flora Anglica*.

<i>Genista humifusa</i>	Nova. ang. fl.*
<i>Anthyllis vulneraria</i>	Kidney vetch
<i>Carduus eriophorus</i>	Cotton thistle
<i>Senecio aquaticus</i>	Rag-wort
—— crucifolius	Hoary groundsel
<i>Serapias palustris</i>	Marsh hellebore
<i>Carex dioica</i>	Small carex
—— pulicaris	Flea carex
—— pilulifera	Round headed carex
—— pallescens	Pale carex
<i>Anthoceros punctatus</i>	Punctated anthoceros
<i>Osmunda lunaria</i>	Moon wort
<i>Blasia sirisilla</i>	Dwarf blasia
<i>Hypnum stellatum</i>	A new discovery
<i>Phascum axitlare</i>	Not noted by Hudson

There are other plants, but since they are common almost every where, their insertion would be tedious and unnecessary.

I shall here claim one moments digression. My portrait of Naseby may appear, in frequent instances, undeservedly harsh; and the good people of the place, may perhaps be led to imagine themselves deserted and betrayed by their old friend and pastor. I however disavow such intention. It is true, that a certain borrowed plumage, which the partial zeal of former writers had foisted on her, I have endeavoured to strip off; but it has been only to exhibit her in her native splendor. That place can surely require no adventitious reputation, whose name is identified

* This plant was never found in England before, and was first discovered by Mr. Dickson in 1788.

with the most prominent epochs of our political and literary annals,—with the fate of monarchy, and the genius of Shakespeare. If however I have deprived Naseby of what truth would not permit me to give, I will give her in return that which truth will not permit me to withhold. I will say that during an occasional ministry in that parish, through several years, my imperfect labours, were, in a spiritual point of view, more perfectly repaid than what I had hitherto experienced ; that I found on all occasions, and from every class of people, repeated proofs of attachment and respect ; and that during the three years of my ministry, not one of my very numerous flock, to the best of my knowledge, was convicted, or even impeached of any serious charge, at the tribunals of justice. This being observed, I will proceed to a proof of

ITS SALUBRITY.

WHILST the sons of Science discover within the boundaries of Naseby, a compensation inadequate to their expectations or their toils, there is one that searches after a treasure of paramount importance ; and the valetudinarian upon this elevated spot, seldom fails to inspire “the balmy breeze of health.” The celebrated Dr. Cardan observes, “*Solum siccum aquis fluentibus salubritatem aeris efficiunt,*” and such precisely are the soil and waters of Naseby ; the former dry, and the latter flowing ; and accordingly we find the Doctor’s assertion fully maintained

by an atmosphere fresh bracing and vigorous. Indeed so remarkable is the air of Naseby for its salubrity, that death seems as it were deprived of half his terrors; and seldom do his victims here fall but by the tardy weapons of casualty or decay.* If this assertion need other evidence in order to establish its credibility, than that which must necessarily accrue from its elevated site, it is to be found amidst the instructive mementos of the dead. A meditation however amongst the tombs, is sometimes disrelished; I shall therefore present my readers who may indulge an aversion to such *grave* subjects, with the [numerical result of my calculations; and leave those of an opposite temperament to enjoy their unhappy propensity to meditation in quest of the obtrusive warnings themselves, or their details amidst the cenotaphic pages of Mastin.† Out of somewhat more than sixty inscriptions, contained in the church and churchyard, I find that twenty-two had reached the age of seventy and upwards; six that of eighty; and that two or three, had nearly attained their century. This leaves scarcely more than one half under the age of "three score years and ten" from which if we subtract the twenty-one who died between that period

* Naseby children is a term proverbially applied to the aged here from the frequent instances of their surviving the mental powers. Mastin records that one Corby of this place, who died at the advanced age of 94, cut an entire new and regular set of teeth after he had attained his 70th year.

† Mr. Mastin has proved the salubrity of Naseby, and the consequent longevity of its inhabitants, by transcribing verbatim ten or a dozen pages of its epitaphs.

and forty-five, it leaves not quite one-seventh of the whole under the average age of man.* Whilst however the valetudinarian gains vigour to the body

THE HISTORIAN AT NASEBY

enjoys a rich repast of the mind. No sooner has he paced the ever-memorable plain, than his imagination takes instant wing ; and the tardy progress of centuries is retraced in the rapidity of a moment. The desert is at once, by its talismanic influence, peopled with the hostile factions of 1645 ; flocks are converted into armies ; the bellowing of its herds into the clamour of war ; and its few scattered bushes of furze into the leaders of each marshalled host. The visionary conflict commences. Here the impetuous Rupert drives the undisciplined republicans, and there the invincible Cromwell chases the defeated royalists. The valley resounds with the shouts of the victors ; and from its adjoining eminence, the unhappy Charles, scarcely less elevated in mind than in rank, regards with a melancholy resignation the last expiring efforts of his devoted followers. They at length give way. The dispirited Monarch, however, still hoping by his personal

* While pursuing the doleful subject of its mortality the fecundity of the place should not be entirely forgotten. In the year 1814, Mary Wilford died at the advanced age of 93. She had at the time of her death, five sons and two daughters, whose united ages amount to 444 ; 35 grand-children, and 32 great-grand-children ; she was aunt to 16, great-aunt to 68, great-great-aunt to 108, and great-great-great-aunt to six, all living and lineal descendants, amounting to 291 souls ?

valour, to stem the irresistible torrent of his misfortunes, throws himself between the defeated and disgrace ; but they rally not : the retreat becomes general : the heavy hoofs of the pursuing cavalry at length die away over the neighbouring eminence ; and the spell of fancy is dissolved. The plain again appears in its usual sketch of sterility and gloom ; and little more remains to convince him that such things were, than the graves still distinctly visible of its now forgotten victims. Reason at length resumes her sway, and her first effort is devoted to an inquiry after the causes productive of these sanguinary scenes.

HISTORICAL GLEANINGS.

PART II.

CAUSES PRODUCTIVE OF THE BATTLE OF NASEBY.

“ Let this reflection from these pages flow,
We ne’er from foreign foes can ruin know.
Oh, let us then intestine discord shun,
We ne’er can be but by ourselves undone.”

Savage.

FEW princes have ascended the throne of Britain under more flattering auspices than the unhappy Charles the First. At the period of this monarch’s accession, (A. D. 1625.) a noble historian of the time informs us,* the nation enjoyed the greatest calm, and the fullest measure of felicity ; that the court was in great plenty, or rather, which is the discredit of

* Lord Clarendon.— See *History of the Rebellion*.

plenty, excess and luxury ; the country rich, and, what is more, fully enjoying the pleasure of its own wealth ; that the church and state was flourishing with learned and extraordinary men ;* trade increasing to such a degree, that we were the exchange of christendom ; the royal navy in number and equipage very formidable ; and that lastly, for a complement of all these blessings, they were enjoyed under the protection of a King of the most harmless disposition, the most exemplary piety, and the greatest sobriety, chastity, and mercy, that ever prince had been endowed with.

That so auspicious a moment, should prove the dawn of anarchy, cannot fail to be in itself a matter of surprise, and in its causes an object of inquiry. It may be observed, however, that a calm, is in general the forerunner of a storm ; and we ought not to forget what the successive revolutions of the world have taught us, that the summit of a kingdom's elevation, is but one short step removed from its decline. It ought also to be remembered, the monarch has an arduous character to sustain besides that of the man ; and that the personal virtues of the prince, as the pages of history indisputably prove, are not the surest safeguards of national repose. These obser-

* This fact will appear when we enumerate Milton ; Miller ; Cowley ; Denham ; Bacon ; Clarendon ; Hervey ; Admirals Blake, Montague, &c. Generals Bradshaw, Ireton, Cromwell, Fairfax, Monk. Archbishop Laud. the Earls of Essex and Strafford. Hampden, Vane and Whitelock.

vations will receive additional confirmation during our progress through the better half of the seventeenth century.

In order, however, to trace the calamities of this eventful period to their source, it will be necessary to consider the circumstances under which the monarch found himself upon his accession ; and likewise the temper and condition of the people, it became his province to govern. With regard to the former he presently perceived, that his affairs were precarious and necessitous, and that he was encumbered with a treaty of war,* the result of his father's councils, but whose unbridled prodigality had bequeathed to him little more in its support, than his personal debts, and an exhausted treasury. Charles had, however, assumed the reins of government under a full persuasion, that his popularity alone, would support him through every measure ; and in that confidence he applied to his parliament for supplies. The complaisance of that body, however, fell far short of his sanguine expectations. A supply was not refused ; but its amount was so totally inadequate to his necessities, as to appear little better than a cruel mockery of his request ;* a second

* Against the house of Austria, in behalf of the Prince Palatine his brother-in-law.

* He shewed that the charges for the equipment of the navy alone, had amounted to £300,000 ; the personal debts of his father were £700,000 ; and his accession, had entailed upon him its customary expences. To discharge these, and to meet the prospective expences of foreign hostilities, they voted him two subsidies, a sum scarcely equivalent to the discharge of one tenth of his debts.

appeal, met with no better success ; even to his entreaties, couched in the most conciliatory and pathetic language, they remained inexorable, or at least they gave him to understand, that he was to expect no supplies from them unless purchased at the expence of what appeared to their view, some dangerous prerogative of the crown. This uncomplaisant conduct of a British parliament towards the sovereign, hitherto unprecedented under similar circumstances, cannot fail to awaken our surprise. To him those plausible objections did not extend, which had been so repeatedly opposed to the pecuniary demands of his father. He had as yet given them no cause of disgust, either by his arbitrary notions of the prerogative, or by his unbounded prodigality. The money which he solicited, was required to carry into execution the vote of the last parliament, and he very reasonably determined, that those who had advised the war, would not refuse the funds without which it was impossible that war should be maintained. Our surprise at this extraordinary conduct, may be, however, in some measure, removed by a closer acquaintance with

THE STATE OF PARTIES.

IN the upper house, no other opposition existed to the measures of the court, than what originated in a very popular aversion to Buckingham, the King's confidential adviser ; but in the lower house, that opposition, had assumed a more formidable character.

The puritanical party, had, at this period, gained a powerful ascendancy in the commons; and although divided amongst themselves,* they were zealously leagued in the detection of whatever appeared to their enthusiastic spirits, the objects of spiritual renovation; while there were others, who, whatever might be their religious feelings, professed to seek with equal zeal the reformation of abuses in the prerogative, and the preservation of the liberties of the people. The specious colour given to their pretences, rendered this union of the two parties extremely formidable. They combated for pure religion, and civil liberty; to oppose them, therefore, was to court the imputation of superstition and of slavery.

In this necessitous situation, prudence might have censured the policy of Charles. The war had not yet commenced; even the object of his military preparations was unknown; he was therefore, still at liberty, without any compromise of national dignity, to assume a more pacific position; but unhappily it was seldom the character of this unfortunate prince, to be diverted from his purpose by opposition,† and ac-

* They were divided into Independents, Anabaptists and Presbyterians, the last were the most considerable, but all joined in an equal aversion to the government in Church and State.—*Higgon's View of English History.*

† This feeling is strongly expressed by a female and contemporary writer Lucy Hutchinson, in her memoirs of her husband, Col. Hutchinson. She says, speaking of Charles, that "he was the most obstinate person in his self-will that ever was; and so bent upon being an absolute uncontrollable sovereign, that he was resolved to be either such a King or none." It

accordingly hostilities commenced, when the resources were yet to be found. Influenced too often by present convenience, Charles did not long hesitate upon his future counsels, but hastened to relieve his present necessities, by the revival of those antient methods of extortion, which though usually claimed, had been very sparingly exercised by his predecessors. Amongst other exactions, that unpopular tax, called a benevolence, was ordered to be enforced, and privy seals were issued accordingly. With this the people were obliged, though reluctantly, to comply; they knew it to be authorised by many precedents, but men had now begun to think for themselves, and the first-fruit of their inquiries was, what precedent shall give a sanction to arbitrary injustice?*

After an ineffectual expedition to Cadiz, an attempt was made to obtain supplies in a more regular and constitutional manner. Another parliament was accordingly summoned; but entreaties hitherto found unavailing, were now to be abandoned, and the Monarch hoped for a more servile

is also a remark of Bishop Burnet, "that he was out of measure set upon following his humour, but was unreasonably feeble to those he trusted, especially the queen. His notion of regal power was carried too high, and every opposition to it he thought rebellion."

* If stern necessity be admitted as a palliation of these extortions, that plea cannot be denied to Charles; for we find that to such a state of destitution was even the royal household at this time reduced, that, to procure provisions for his table, the king was compelled to borrow £3000 of the corporations of Salisbury and Southampton, on the joint security of the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer.—*Sydney papers*, II. 363.

compliance, from an attitude of menace and contempt. Rigorous measures however proved equally futile with those of a more lenient character; and the dissolution of one parliament after another, though aided by every undue stretch of the royal prerogative, produced not the desired result. Each successive assembly seemed to be stamped with the like, but still deeper, impressions of stern and inflexible defiance. It would not be consistent with the conscientiousness of this inquiry, to detail the numerous expedients by which Charles for some time laboured to allay the suspicions, or weary out the perseverance of his opponents. At length they solicited his assent to

THE PETITION OF RIGHT.*

To this invaluable charter, whose object was to correct the more flagrant abuses of the sovereign authority, Charles knew not what answer to return. To refuse was to forfeit certain conditional supplies, and to sink into irremediable want; to assent was in his opinion to throw away his most valuable rights—the brightest jewels in his crown. He at length resolved to dissemble; and his subsequent conduct during the session, was influenced throughout by a reprehensible duplicity. To the patriots the evas-

* This bill was intended to provide against any future violation of that bulwark of British liberty, the magna charta, and more particularly to correct the following abuses of the sovereign authority:—the exaction of unauthorised taxes; commitments without a specified cause; the billeting of soldiers in the private houses of the inhabitants; and frequent inflictions by the summary process of Martial law.

ive character of his reply, proved a cruel disappointment. They lamented it in speeches strongly expressive of their feelings, and repeatedly interrupted by their tears. A more explicit answer was, after some tumultuous proceedings, required and obtained. A delirium of joy succeeded; and it was hoped the patriot leaders content with this victory, would spare the King any additional mortifications. But success only enlarged their views and invigorated their efforts; the redress of various other national grievances was importunately pressed; and this eventful session, one of the most memorable on our annals, was suddenly prorogued in order to suppress any further ebullition of patriotic fervour. Lingard says, in allusion to this session, "the patriots may have been occasionally intemperate in their warmth, and extravagant in their predictions, but their labours have entitled them to the gratitude of posterity. They extorted from the King the recognition of the rights which he had so wantonly violated, and fixed on a firm and permanent basis the liberties of the nation. It is indeed true that these liberties were subsequently invaded—that again and again they were trampled in the dust, but 'the petition of right' survived to bear evidence against the encroachments of the prerogative. To it the people always appealed; to it the crown was ultimately compelled to submit."*

* See Lingard's England. IX. 388.

To add to the embarrassments of the throne at this critical juncture, Buckingham, its execrated favourite, fell by the hand of an assassin, a sacrifice to his own unpopularity.* Without a minister, and a parliament, the first measure adopted by the King on his own responsibility, was by no means the least prudent of his life. He made peace with the crown against which he had waged a war, entered upon without necessity, and conducted without glory. Relieved from these embarrassments, he now directed his whole attention to the management of the internal policy of the kingdom, selecting as his associates in the task, Sir Thomas Wentworth afterwards Earl of Strafford, and Laud, then Bishop of London, subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury. Charles was no stranger to the sentiments and the intrepidity of the prelate, his belief in the doctrine of passive obedience, his zeal to enforce ecclesiastical conformity, and his determined opposition to the civil and religious principles of the puritans. He therefore resigned to Laud the government of the church, and Laud in return marshalled the church in support of the prerogative. On the other hand Wentworth, upon whom devolved the temporal affairs

* The following letter found about the person of the assassin strongly portrays the enthusiastic spirit of the times. "That man is Cowardly base and deserveth not the name of a gentleman or Souldier that is not willinge to sacrifice his lyfe for the honor of his God his Kinge and his Countrie. Lett noe man commend me for doeing of it, but rather discommend them's, as the cause of it, for if God had not taken or harts for or sinnes he would not haue gone so longe unpunished. ---Jo felton."

of the nation, brought with him to the service of his sovereign sentiments not less dangerous to the state of public opinion. His councils were distinguished by that austerity of disposition, and that obstinacy of purpose, which had formerly earned for him the hostility of the monarch and his favourite. His patriotism however was not proof against the smile of the sovereign; and as he had once been the zealous champion of the rights of the people, so he now saw no rights but those of the crown.*

THE COUNCILS OF LAUD AND STRAFFORD

were ill calculated to conciliate the Sovereign and his commons: animosity grew rapidly more implacable and the exactions of the crown more arbitrary. At length the collectors of the revenue, were summoned by the commons to give an account of the authority by which they persisted in their extortions; and the sheriff of London had been committed to the tower for his activity in supporting their pretensions, but for the interference of secretary Cook, who declared that the King would not separate the obedience of his servants from his own acts, nor suffer them to be punished for executing his commands. At the next meeting of parliament Sir John Elliot began to inveigh in the most bitter terms against this and other popular causes of disgust; but soon after the commencement of his invectives, he was interrupted by

* This, if the first, has not been the last instance of political apostacy, of a dereliction of every honest principle for the sake of rank, office, or emolument.

the Speaker, who informed the house, that he had received an order of adjournment from the King, and instantly prepared to quit his seat. Clamour ensued, and he was forcibly held back by two members, who had purposely placed themselves on each side of the chair. He made a second attempt; the court party hastened to his aid; their opponents resisted; blows were exchanged; the doors locked; and the Speaker notwithstanding his tears, struggles, and entreaties, was compelled to remain sitting. Elliot resumed his harangue, and was followed by Hollis, who pronounced a protest, couched in terms of unusual violence, for the approbation of the house, which was passed rather by acclamation than by vote.*

During this tumultuous proceeding the King had arrived at the house of Lords. He sent for the Serjeant at arms, who was not permitted to obey; he then ordered the Usher of the black rod to deliver a message from his own mouth, but that officer returned without obtaining admission; at last he commanded a detachment of the guards to force their entrance, but at that very instant, the commons adjourned according to the message previously delivered by the Speaker. Soon afterwards the parliament was dissolved.

* In this hasty production Papists and Arminians were declared capital enemies to the state; certain pecuniary impositions were denounced as contrary to the law; and not only those who exacted them, but even those who paid them, were considered as guilty of capital crimes.

In consequence of these scenes of tumult and disorder, several of the delinquent members were impeached of sedition, and by the King's warrant committed to the Tower.* These measures however tended to little else than the triumph of the popular cause; and even the imprisoned members themselves, felt more than repaid for their penalties, by having the whole kingdom as spectators and applauders of their fortitude. At length that very temerity which suggested their imprisonment, also prompted their release, with scarcely any other infliction than a nominal penalty, and a formal act of submission.

The result of this last experiment had fixed the determination of Charles. If his opponents charged him, his ministers, and judges, with a design to trample under-foot the liberties of the people, he was as firmly convinced that they had conspired to despoil him of the rightful prerogatives of the crown. In parliament alone was their prospect of success, and he determined to obstruct that view, by governing for the future without their intervention. A proclamation presently afterwards announced

THE ABOLITION OF PARLIAMENTS.

THE extortions hitherto adopted had affected only individuals; but the levying of ship money as it was

* The obnoxious members were Sirs Peter Hayman and John Elliot; and Messrs. Seldon, Coriton, Long, Strode, Hollis, and Valentine.

called* being a general burthen, became also a general subject of complaint. There still existed, however, a man who ventured to dispute the legality of this unpopular exaction. John Hampden, a gentleman of fortune in Buckinghamshire, had been rated at twenty shillings, for his estate, which he temperately, but firmly, refused to pay; and the cause was argued during twelve days in the exchequer chamber before all the Judges of England. The most intense anxiety accompanied the progress of this trial, whose result was to place at least one barrier, between the prerogative of the crown, and the liberties of the subject. After three months deliberation, the Judges gave in their opinions, seven in favour of the crown, and five in favour of Hampden. This decision was hailed as an important victory by the court; but it was a victory deemed unjust by the people, and ruinous its consequences to the throne. The verdict of the Judges was regarded as the fruit of court interest and patronage, and even men who had paid their contributions cheerfully, while they conceived the claim might be good in law, parted with their money very reluctantly, after they had persuaded themselves that it was illegal.

But Charles was not satisfied with sowing the seeds

* This tax was originally destined to preserve our sovereignty of the Seas; but had been of late years diverted to other purposes. It was originally exacted of the ports, thence however it extended to the maritime counties, and ultimately to the whole kingdom. It contributed at this time, £218,500, to the annual exigencies of the state.

of disaffection in England, the like impolicy marked his government of the people of Ireland under the vice-royalty of the despotic Wentworth. Much however as that people, and those of England, felt themselves aggrieved, they had hitherto betrayed no disposition to oppose open force to the unjust pretensions of their sovereign : it was in Scotland that the flame was first kindled, which gradually spread, till it involved the three kingdoms in one common conflagration.

Deeply as we may feel inclined to commiserate the fortunes of this unhappy prince, we cannot withhold our censure of that misguided policy in which they generally originated. Had he trusted more confidently to his own judgment, his councils had probably been marked by less extravagance, and his life by fewer sorrows ; but it was the misfortune of Charles to rely upon understandings often inferior to his own.* Episcopacy had been maintained, even at home, with no inconsiderable difficulty, it was therefore surely a measure equally fraught with impolicy and injustice to attempt its introduction amongst a people like the Scots, to whom it was universally hateful, and with whose religious institutions, he had no manner of

* This was remarked in the Camp, as well as the Cabinet. "He gave way to these hasty counsels, and suffered his judgment to be overruled by a majority of voices. This was the frequent error of our good, but unfortunate, master, particularly in the two greatest battles of the time, that of Edgehill, and that of Naseby.---*Memoirs of a Cavalier*, page 204.

right to interfere.* Having published a royal edict for the reading the liturgy in the principal churches at Edinburgh, the people received it with the most appalling clamours and imprecations,† and the seditious disposition of that kingdom, which had hitherto been kept within bounds, displayed itself in the ominous gloom of

THE SCOTCH REBELLION.

WAR being openly proclaimed, the King took every arbitrary method, as on former emergencies, to exact the means of its vigorous support. Ship money was levied as usual, and other taxes equally odious were wrested from the grasp of a reluctant people; but these were far from being sufficient, and there only remained therefore that long neglected, but most legal resource, a parliamentary supply. The new commons however inherited the sentiments, and adopted the policy of their predecessors. They took little notice of the prayers or the wants of the sovereign, but gave their undivided

* This novation has been usually attributed to Laud, but he solemnly declares, that he received the first notice of it from the King during his sickness in 1629. *Lauds Troubles* 166.

† Many ludicrous effusions of zeal on this occasion are recorded, "Ane godly woman when sche hard a young man behind sounding forth *amen* to that new composed comedie, sche quicklie turned her about, and after sche had warmed both his cheeks with the weight of her hands, sche thus shot against him the thunder bolt of her zeal: 'false thief,' said sche 'is there na uther pairt of the church to sing mass in, but thou must sing it a my lugge?'---*Balfour Storie field-day*.

attention to the religious, the pecuniary, and the parliamentary, violations of the crown. They could not be led, either by the entreaties, or the menaces of the throne, to regard the Scots, who were of the same principles with themselves, as the enemies of the state. They considered them as friends and brothers, who first rose into rebellion, to teach them a duty it was incumbent on all virtuous minds to imitate. The King at length finding that he could reap from this assembly only recrimination, instead of redress, once more dissolved the parliament, in order to try more prompt and feasible methods of removing his necessities.*

The commons had always proved the more refractory of the two houses, Charles therefore placed a treaty of peace, now proposed by the Scots, at the disposal of a parliament of peers, which had been summoned to meet him at York. He could not however avert what he had so much cause to apprehend. Twelve peers subscribed their names to a petition stating the grievances of the nation, and pointing out a parliament as the only remedy; this was followed by a sudden burst of public opinion expressed in the like manner, and enforced by similar arguments. Even his friends advised him to acquiesce; and at

* Charles' opinion of parliaments is thus recorded. My experience shews says he "they are of the nature of cats, that they grow crusty with age; so that if ye will have good of them, put them off handsomely when they come of any age, for young ones ever are most tractable."---*Wilkins Con IV. 365.*

length, with evident marks of reluctance, he summoned that parliament, which did not cease to sit, until it had overturned the constitution, and consigned him to the scaffold. Charles met this assembly with the most lively apprehensions. He felt now in its full force the dependant situation to which his late policy had reduced him ; and he could not forget the talents, the enthusiasm, and the perseverance which had hitherto characterized his intrepid opponents. Without losing time, they entered upon business ; and disregarding the royal recommendation, they devoted their attention to three great subjects,—the investigation of abuses ; the adoption of remedies ; and the punishment of delinquents. At this time by unanimous consent they struck a blow that might be regarded as decisive,—

THE IMPEACHMENT OF LAUD AND STRAFFORD,

whom they arraigned before their peers, on the charge of high treason.* After a long and eloquent speech, from Strafford in the progress of which he answered all the charges of his accusers, he was found guilty by both houses of parliament, and nothing remained but for the King to give his consent to the bill of attainder. Charles who loved Strafford tenderly, shewed every sign of reluctance ; no expedient was left untried to ward off so dreadful a task as that of signing the warrant for his execution. While he continued in this state of agi-

* The charge against Strafford included a violation of every security provided for the subject by the petition of right.

tation, his scruples were at last silenced by an act of heroic bravery in the condemned lord. He received a letter from that unfortunate nobleman, desiring that his life might be made the sacrifice of mutual reconciliation between his sovereign, and the people, adding that he was prepared to die, and that to a willing mind there could be no injury.* This instance of noble generosity was but ill repaid by his master, who complied with his request. The fatal bill was signed by commission; and thus, with a composed dignity of resolution, perished the Earl of Strafford, the most able and devoted champion of the claims of the crown, and the most active and formidable enemy to the liberties of the people.

The more sanguinary of the commons were not however to be appeased by the blood of Strafford alone; other friends and advisers of the throne, were to be dragged forth during this paroxym of popular phrenzy, and to be harassed with impeachments, fines, imprisonment, and death. Laud presently followed, and the Queen herself, under the capital charge of a devotion to the religion of her ancestors, began to be seriously apprehensive of her personal safety. In this universal rage for punishment, the parliament

* Lingard says, "It may be questioned whether he really felt the magnanimous sentiments he so forcibly expressed. He knew, that within three months a similar offer had saved the life of Goodman; and when he heard that the King had complied with his request, he is said to have started with surprise from his chair, exclaiming, 'Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation.'"

fell on two courts, which had been erected under arbitrary kings, and had seldom, till of late, been employed but in cases of extreme necessity. These were the high commission court,* and the court of star chamber.† A bill unanimously passed the houses to abolish both; and in them, to annihilate the principal and most dangerous engines of the kings prerogative.

Hitherto, on most subjects, the two houses had cheerfully concurred; but the pretensions maintained, and the power exercised by the commons, at length began to provoke the jealousy of the peers. Many of the latter professed a determination to withstand every further attempt to subvert the ancient constitution of the legislature, or the undoubted rights of the crown; and two bills sent from the lower house were successively rejected.‡

* This court was established in the 3d year of Henry VII. for the purpose of checking the presumption of those powerful lords, who, at a distance from the capital, overawed the proceedings, and set at defiance the authority of the ordinary courts of law. It was restored by Cardinal Wolsey; and from that period continued, through several reigns, to grow in importance, until at length it began to be feared for the severity, rather than respected for the equity, of its judgments.

† This court professed to take cognizance of all public breaches of morality, of all words, writings, or actions, tending to the disparagement of either the religion or of the church established by law. The cupidity and injustice of this court under the vigorous sway of Laud, had been long and deeply execrated.

‡ One to exclude the Bishops from their seats, and the other purporting "to provide security for their religion."

THE IRISH REBELLION

proved the unhappy result of these growing symptoms of anarchy and disunion. Perceiving a favourable opportunity of throwing off the English yoke they availed themselves of it, and the banner of insurrection presently waved in the remotest quarters of the island; while the natives, and military, acting under the order of council, seemed to vie with each other in accomplishing the most determined deeds of inhumanity and bloodshed. One act of violence was constantly retaliated by another; the thirst for revenge was reciprocally excited and gratified; and men on both sides learned to indulge in murder without remorse—even with feelings of triumph. The King was no stranger to these bloody proceedings, and being sensible of his own inability to suppress the insurrectionary spirit, he had once more recourse to his English parliament for supplies. But here he found no hopes of assistance; many intimations were even thrown out that he had himself fomented this rebellion; and he was plainly told that no money could be spared for the extinction of distant dangers, whilst the kingdom was threatened with greater at home.

The spirit of republicanism, which had for some time displayed itself in the populace, now began to appear without any disguise in the lower house of parliament; and that party instead of attacking the faults of the King, seemed now resolutely bent upon

the destruction of monarchy itself. They commenced operations by a vigorous attack upon episcopacy, which they very justly deemed one of the strongest bulwarks of the royal power. They accused thirteen of the bishops of high treason for enacting canons without the consent of parliament, and they endeavoured to rest from them their seats and privileges in the house of peers. The prelates perceived the storm that was gathering around them, and, probably to avoid its effects, resolved to attend their duty in parliament no longer, a measure which their subsequent commitment left not to their choice. This was a fatal blow to the royal interests; but it was destined to experience a much greater at the hands of the monarch himself, in that rash and precipitate counsel,

THE IMPEACHMENT OF THE FIVE MEMBERS—

a step, to which may be very safely ascribed the greater portion of his subsequent misfortunes. Charles had long suppressed his resentment, and only strove to satisfy the commons by the greatness of his concessions; but finding that his compliance only increased their demands, he could no longer restrain his feelings. The rumour at this moment of a projected impeachment of the queen, gave the fiat to his determinations, and excited as much by fear as resentment, he precipitately adopted the following bold but hazardous expedient. He gave orders to Herbert, his attorney general, to enter an

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accusation of high treason in the house of peers against several of the popular members in each house,* grounded upon several frivolous, and questionable charges.† Men had, however, scarcely leisure to wonder at the precipitancy and imprudence of this impeachment, when they were astonished by a measure still more rash and unsupported. The next day the king himself, attended by his guards and a number of officers with their swords, proceeded to the house of commons. Accompanied only by his nephew, he entered the house, advancing through the hall, while all the members respectfully rose to receive him. The speaker descended from the chair, and the monarch took possession of his place. Having looked around the audience for some time, he told the house, that he regretted the occasion which brought him thither; that he was come in person to sieze the members whom he had accused of high treason, seeing they would not deliver them up to his serjeant at arms; "but since the birds had flown, he expected from the loyalty of the house, that they would send them to him, or he should have recourse to other expedients." He was heard in silence, and retired amidst low but distinct murrurs of "privilege, privilege."

* The impeached members were Lord Kimbolton, Hollis, Haslerig, Pym, Hampden, and Stroud, all distinguished members of the opposition.

† The impeachment charged them with having conspired to alienate from the King the affections of his people, to excite disobedience in the army, to subvert the rights of parliament, and to extort the consent of the majority by the influence of mobs and terror.

Thus disappointed, perplexed, and not knowing on whom to rely, he proceeded amidst the clamours of the populace, who continued to cry out "Privilege" "Privilege," to the common council of the city, and made his complaint to them, but they only answered his grievances with a contemptuous silence; and on his return one of the populace more insolent than the rest, cried out "To your tents O Israel!" a watch word among the Jews when they intended to abandon their princes. To this period we may very justly assign.

THE DAWN OF CIVIL WAR.

Being returned to Windsor, the unhappy monarch began too late to reflect on the rashness of his proceedings. He wrote to the parliament whom he had so lately menaced, to inform them that he withdrew his charges against the impeached members, and assured them that upon all occasions, he would be as careful of their privileges, as of his life or his crown. Thus his former violence had made him hateful to his commons, and his present submission now rendered him contemptible.

This ill-advised and abortive attempt completed the degradation of the unfortunate monarch. It was equally condemned by his friends, and enemies; and it furnished the latter with the means of working on the passions of their adherents, and of exciting them to a state bordering upon phrenzy. The commons adjourned for a week, but during this recess, a permanent committee sat at the Guild-hall to concert

measures with their partisans in the city, and to arrange a new triumph over the fallen authority of the sovereign. On the appointed day, the five accused members proceeded by water to the house. They were escorted by 2000 armed mariners in boats, and by detachments of the train bands with eight pieces of cannon on each side of the river, and were received on landing by 4000 horsemen from Bucks, who had come to assert the innocence and demand justice for the libel on the character of Hampden, their representative, one of the impeached members. The air resounded with shouts of joy, and with military music; and as the procession passed by Whitehall, the populace indulged in the most unseemly vociferations against their misguided monarch. But Charles was no longer there. Distrusting the object of his opponents, he had on the preceding evening fled with his family to Hampton Court.

All hope of reconciliation was now at an end, and both parties prepared to stake the issue of the contest on the sword. In no period of English history do we find so many instances of courage, abilities, and virtue, as the present fatal opposition called forth into exertion. Now was the time when talents of all kinds, unchecked by authority, were called from the lower ranks of life to dispute for power and pre-eminence. Manifestoes on the one side and the other, were now dispersed throughout the whole kingdom; and the people were universally divided between two factions;

distinguished by the well-known appellations of Cavaliers and Round-heads.*

On the 22d of August, 1642, the royal standard, on which was a hand pointing to a crown with this motto "Give to Caesar his due," was carried by a guard of 600 foot from the Castle at Nottingham into a large field: the King followed with a retinue of 2000 men, and the inhabitants crowded around to hear the proclamation read by the herald at arms. This ceremony called

THE RAISING OF THE STANDARD,

was deemed equivalent to a declaration of hostilities: within a few weeks the Rubicon was passed, and the flames of civil war, were lighted up in every part of the kingdom.

"The Stuarts, seated on the throne of the Tudors, doubted not," says Lingard, "but they were rightfully possessed of all those arbitrary powers, claimed and exercised by their predecessors. But within the last fifty years the minds of men had undergone a

* The royalists were denominated Cavaliers; a word which though applied to them at first in allusion to their quality, soon lost its original acceptation, and was taken to be synonymous with papist, atheist, and voluptuary; and they on their part gave to their enemies the name of Roundheads, because "they cropped their hair short, dividing it into so many little peaks, as was something ridiculous to behold." *Life of Col. Hutchinson*, page 100. The godly of those days when the Colonel embraced their party, would not allow him to be religious, because his hair was not in their cut, nor his words in their phrase. *Ibid.* These names were first given a little before the King left Whitehall.—*Clarendon*, I. 339.

wonderful revolution. It had become fashionable to study the principles of government, and to oppose the rights of the subject to the pretensions of the sovereign. It cannot have escaped the observation of most, that Elizabeth, with all the awe inspired by the firmness of her character, had been unable towards the close of her reign to check the expression of liberal sentiments. Under the gentle sway of James, they were diffused with rapidity; and the necessities of Charles, arising from his wars and his debts, emancipated them altogether from restraint. Good sense should have taught him to go along with the general feelings of his people: but princess in all ages have been slow to learn the important lesson, that the influence of authority must ultimately bend to the influence of opinion. The monarch clung with pertinacity to every branch of the prerogative, and if he ever relinquished his hold, it was after so long a struggle, and with so bad a grace, that he excited in his subjects suspicions of his sincerity: suspicions confirmed by that habit of duplicity, which had ever marked his conduct since his first entrance into public life.† Their distrust formed an antidote to their gratitude; they gave him no credit for the most valuable concessions; and the wish to secure what they had gained, induced them to make new and more galling demands.”

“The reader however may have remarked, that the

† This feature in the character of Charles is strongly drawn by a contemporary writer, but it will be recollected that the author was a republican. “He made no conscience of granting anything to the people, which he resolved should not oblige him longer than it should serve his turn.”—*Lucy Hutchinson's Memoirs of her Husband, Col. Hutchinson, page 66.*

controversy between the King and his opponents no longer regarded the real liberties of the nation, which had already been established by successive acts of the legislature, but was confined to certain concessions, which they demanded as essential to the preservation of those liberties, and which he refused as subversive of the royal authority. That some securities were requisite no one doubted; but while many contended that the control of the public money, the power of impeachment, and the rights of meeting every third year, all which were now vested in the parliament, formed a sufficient barrier against encroachments on the part of the sovereign, others insisted, that the command of the army, and the appointment of the officers of state, the counsellors, and the judges, ought also to be transferred to the two houses. Diversity of opinion produced a schism among the patriots: the more moderate silently withdrew to the royal standard: the more violent or more distrustful resolved to defend their opinions with the sword. It has often been asked who were the authors of the civil war? The answer seems to depend on the solution of this other question: were additional securities necessary for the preservation of the national rights? If they were, the blame will belong to Charles; if not, it must rest with his adversaries."

It would not be consistent with my design, to detail the marchings and counter-marchings of these undisciplined armies. I shall, however, endeavour to assist my readers in forming some notion of their destructive operations by the subjoined Table, which may sufficiently display

THE PROGRESS OF THE WAR.

<i>Battles, Sieges, and Skirmishes</i>	<i>Commanders for the King.</i>	<i>Commanders for the Parliament.</i>	<i>The Party Victorious.</i>	<i>Number of the slain.</i>	<i>Day and Year when fought.</i>
Edge-hill	King Charles	E. of Essex	Doubt	6000	Oct. 24. 1642
Brentford	General Ruthen	E. of Essex	Royal	2500	Nov. 12. 1642
Chenecaster	Prince Rupert	Unknown	Royal	1800 P.	Feb. --- 1643
1. Melfield	E. of Northampton	Sir W. Gell	Royal	1000	Feb. --- 1643
Windsor	Sir I. Henderson	O. Cromwell	Parl.	2000	May --- 1643
Boy's Tracy	Lord Wentworth	O. Cromwell	Parl.	1500	June --- 1643
Gainsborough	14. Gen. Cavendish	O. Cromwell	Parl.	1200 R.	June --- 1643
Granttham	Unknown	O. Cromwell	Parl.	1700	June --- 1643
Cropley. B.	King Charles	Sir W. Waller	Royal	2500 P.	June 29 1643
Marston-moor	Prince Rupert	Sir T. Fairfax	Parl.	4150	July 2. 1643
Lansdown	Prince Maurice	Sir W. Waller	Royal	2000 P.	July 5. 1643
Roundway D.	Lord Willmot	Sir W. Waller	Royal	3000 P.	July 13. 1643
Newbury	King Charles	E. of Essex	Doubt	3000	Sept. 20. 1643
Nantwich	Lord Byron	Sir T. Fairfax	Parl.	3500 R.	Jan. 26. 1644
Newbury 2nd	King Charles	Sir T. Fairfax	Doubt	2700	Sept. 30. 1644
Naseby	King Charles	Sir T. Fairfax	Parl.	6000	June 14. 1645
				43550	

It ought to be remarked, that the numbers here stated as slain, in some instances, were only those of one party.* Had the full statement been made, and to that, the victims of petty encounters, sieges, and popular tumult added, the aggregate would have been dreadfully augmented. The sanguinary total, however, without that dismal acquisition, will be found to out-number considerably, in proportion to its duration, even that disgusting detail of butcheries which the pages of history exhibit as a beacon to posterity under the well known flowery appellation of the "War of the Roses."† This being dismissed, I shall proceed to give as full and substantial an account as I could possibly glean, of one of the most important events recorded on the annals of Britain; in which, as Lord Clarendon observes, "both the King and Kingdom were lost;" and whose effects upon the royal cause, have obtained for it the very general appellation of the *fatal* battle of Naseby.

* In such cases I have distinguished the parties by their initial letter P. and R.

† The duration of the former was 4 years, that of the latter 32. The number slain in the 14 principal battles of the one, has been estimated at 111,176 (See Shilton's Battle of Stoke-field) the above catalogue presents nearly one half the slaughter, in scarcely an eighth part of the time, and fully confirms the following remark, "I believe I may challenge all the historians in Europe to tell me of any war in the world, where in the space of four years, there were so many pitched battles, sieges, fights, and skirmishes." --- *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, page 198.

HISTORICAL GLEANINGS.

PART III.

THE FATAL BATTLE OF NASEBY.

Now terror seems to make the field its own,
The wounded horses neigh, the dying groan,
A furious noise the clashing armour yields,
And sabres sound upon the hollow shields.

EGERTON.

“ IN the latter end of May, 1645, it was intended by the King to attempt the recovery off the north out off the hands off the parliament, and it was thought while there was a strong garrison att Leicester, and another att Newarke, to keep in awe the middle parts off the Kingdome, and seperate the forces off the parliament, that expedition might be undertaken with safetic. But providence determined otherwayes. The garrison off Oxford having made a desperate sallie and destroyed all the out-works of Sir T. Fairfax (who had

been lately appointed commander-in-chief off the parliamentary forces,)* he raised the siege and marched to Stony Stratford to looke out for the Kings, whose armie long fatigued by action, and a vigorous siege, he thought would be an easie conquest, and might thus end the war att one blow. On this intelligence, the northern expedition was layed aside, and the royalist armie, consisting of less than five thousand foot, and about as many horse,† were ordered to Daintree, whither the King went with a thorough resolution off fighting."

"In the mean while" says Sprigge ‡ "the armie of General Fairfax being come to Wotton, from Stony Stratford, they found there none off the best accommodation for quarter; onlie what was wanting

* When the Parliament voted Sir Thomas Fairfax to be Generall, I confess, I was convinced the King's affaires were desperate and lost. He was a compleat generall, strict in his discipline, warie in conduct, fearlesse in action, unwearied in the fatigue off warre, and withal, a modest, noble, generous disposition.---*Memoirs of a Cavalier, who commanded a regiment of horse in the brigade of Prince Rupert at the battle of Naseby*.—He was at this time only 34 years old, and died in 1671, in the 80th year of his age ---*Memorials of Lord Fairfax*.

† This must be incorrect. All accounts agree in stating, that 6000 men accompanied the King to Leicester, and that 5000 prisoners were left upon the field; these, exclusive of the dispersed, and slain, exceed the statement here made. A cavalier who fought under Charles in the battle, says, in his memoirs, "In each armie were 18000 men."

‡ See the *Anglia Rediviva*, a very rare work from whence the following particulars are extracted, whose author, Joshua Sprigge, M. A. was chaplain to the parliamentary commander, and present during the battle. It bears throughout the strongest internal evidence of being what its author affirms it to be, "a true and exact relation off the worke off this daye."

that waye, was kindly and respectfully endeavoured to be supplied by the major and majistrates off Northampton; who, the same night, came to the General, att the head quarter, upon the errant off a congratulatory visit, and present. The next day the armie marched to Guilsborough* (four miles on the west off Northampton, and within five miles off Burrough Hill, where the enemie still continued) marching in very good order, for that they did advance directly upon the place, where the enemie had pitcht himselfe. A commanded party off horse gave the enemie an alarum, and took some prisoners, by whom they understood the King was a hunting, the souldiers in no good order, and their horses all at grasse, having not the least knowledge off our advance, and being in the greateste security that could be; but the alarum was so quicklie taken thorow all theire quarters, that our foot being somewhat behinde and night approaching, it was not thought wisdome to make any further attempt. As the general was riding in the morninge about three off the clock, within a mile and a halfe off Flowre, where the enemie kept an horse-guard; he could discern the enemie riding fast over Burrough-hill, to make fires in abundance, as if they were firing theire huts; which gave some cause to believe they were about to march, as indeed it proved afterwards. For about five in the morninge, June 13th, the general returned to the head quarter; the Scout-master,

* Kislingborough not Guilsborough.---See *Sprigge's Journal of the armies marches.*

General Watson, (whose continued diligence, in getting timely intelligence off the enemies motions, then, and alwayes, redounded not a little to the enablement off the armie) brought him certaine notice, that the enemy was drawing off from Burrough-hill; had stood in arms all night, and were all amazed that our armie was so neare, it being spread abroad in theire armie we were gone for security into the association ;* and foure or five more off the spies came one after another, confyrming the same intelligence, adding further, that most off their carriages were drawn from Burrough-hill towards Harborough. About six off the clock in the morninge, a council off war was called, to consider what attempt to make upon the enemy. In the midst off the debate came in Lieut. Gen. Cromwell, out off the association, with six hun-

* We have seen that Charles marched his army to Daventry with "a thorough resolution off fighting" we must therefore endeavour to account for this sudden change of purpose "About two hours after the Kinge had retired to rest (on the preceding night at Daventry) some off his attendants hearing an uncommon noise in his chamber, went into it, where, it is said, they found his Majestie sitting up in bed, and much agitated, but nothing which could have produced the noise they heard. The Kinge in a trembling voice inquired after the cause of their alarm, and told them how much he had been agitated in a dream, by thinking he saw the apparition off Lord Strafford, who after upbraiding him with unkindnesse told him he was come to return him good for evill, and that he advysed him by no means to fight the parliament armie that was att that time quartered att Northampton, for in it was one whom the Kinge could never conquer by arms." Prince Rupert reasoned the King out of his apprehensions on this occasion, but a repetition of the spectres warning on the following night determined him to retreat to Leicester on his rout northward. This has been frequently termed the "*Naseby warning*." a warning whose rejection the unhappy monarch never ceased to lament.

dead horse and dragoons, who was with the greatest joy received by the General and the whole armie. Instantly orders were given for drums to beat, trumpets to sound to horse, and all our army to draw to a rendezvous: from whence a good partie off horse were sent towards Daintree, under the command off Major Harrison* (off whose continued fidelity the publique hath had sufficient testimonie) to bring further intelligence off the enemies motion: and another strong partie of horse was sent under the command off Col. Ireton, to fall upon the flank off the enemy iff he saw cause: and the main body off the army marched to flank the enemy in the waye to Harborough, and came that night to Gilling,† the country much rejoicing att our comeing; and some had their children taken from them, and sold before their faces to the Irish off that armie, whom the parents were enforced to redeem with the price off money.

THE EVE OF BATTEL

brought us intelligence that the van off the enemies armie was att Harborough, the rear within two miles off Naseby: and no sooner was the General got to

* Harrison, rather of a base than low birth, was the son of a butcher; bred at first a pettifogging countrie attorney. He was the first off the regicides who suffered on the Restoration, being hanged and quartered, Oct. 3d 1660.---*Skinner's Motus Compositi*, page 54.

† This topographical difficulty has much perplexed our local antiquaries. Mr. Mastin imagines Gilling to have been "a lone house two miles south of Naseby," but whoever will take the trouble to examine the journal of the army's movements, contained in the *Anglia Rediviva*, will find beyond all controversy, that Gilling is Guillebury or Gullsborough.

his quarters, but tidings were brought him off the good service done by Colonel Ireton, in falling into the enemies quarters, which they had newlie taken up in Naseby town: where he took manie prisoners, some off the Princes lyfe guards, and Langdall's brigades,* and gave a sound alarm thorow the enemies armie, (the confidence off the enemy in possessing these quarters, grounded upon their slight esteem of this armie, and want of intelligence, was rather remarkable.) Upon this alarm, the King, (not having notice off it till eleven att night, as he had little imagined the nearnesse off our armie, or that they durst bear up to him) much amazed, left his own quarters at that unreasonable time†; and for security went to Harborough, where Prince Rupert quartered; and so soon as he came thither, sent to call up his nephew, (resting himself in a chair in a low room, in the mean time) who presently arose; a council off war was called; the question was put, what was best to be done seeing our armie was so neare, and as they then perceived, fully intended to

* A large oak table is still exhibited to the curious at which, tradition says, a party of the princes Life Guards, were surprised by Ireton as they were sitting down to supper.

† From the village of Lubbenham, about one mile from Harborough, whence he transmitted the following letter to Secretary Nicholas.

Nicholas,

This is first to send this inclosed by your *means* to the *Queen*, then to let you know you are like to hear of me tomorrow. I march to Laudabay, after that to Melton, and so on to Belvoir, but I asseure you that I shall looke before I leap farther north, but I am going to *Supper*, so I rest

Your asseured Friend,

Evelyn's Memoirs, II. App. 97.

CHARLES R.

engage them. It was considered by them, that should they march on to Leicester, iff the rear guard were engaged, the whole armie might be put in hazard ; and there was no marching with the van, unless they could bring the rear clear off, which they discerned to be difficult. Whereupon itt was resolved to give battel, taking themselves (as indeed they were) for a more considerable force than we,* especially in horse, on which they chiefly depended ; being also as confident, they might relye upon their infantry for valiant resolute men ; and they resolved (as appears) not to abide in that place till we marched up to them, but in a gallant braverie to seek us out. On

THE MORN OF BATTEL,

Saturday June the 14th, the General with the armie advanced by three off the clock, from Gilling† towards Naseby, with an intention to follow close upon the enemy; and (if possible) retard their march with our horse, till our foot could draw up to them, in case they should have marched on to Leicester (the intelligence being, that they had drawn some off their carriages in the night thro' Harborough) that way. By five in the morninge, the armie was at rendezvous near Navesby, where his excellency (General Fairfax) received intelligence by our spies, that the enemy

* Here Sprigge refutes himself, see page 8. All accounts agree in stating the numerical force of each army, to be very nearly the same.---See *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, page 327.

† Gullsborough as will be seen by a reference to the first express to the Parliament.

was att Harborough; with this further, that it was still doubtful, whether he meant to march away, or to stand us. But immediately the doubt was resolved : great bodies of the enemies horse were discerned on the top of the hill on this side of Harborough, which increasing more and more in our view, begat a confidence in the General and the residue off the officers, that he meant not to draw away, as some imagined, but that he was putting his armie in order, either there to receive us, or to come to us, to engage in upon the ground we stood : whilst the General was thus observing the countenance of the enemy, directions were given to put the armie in such a posture, as that if the enemy came on, we might take the advantage off our ground, and be in readinesse to receive him ; or if not, that we might advance towards him. And whilst these things were in consultation and action, the enemy's armie, which was before the greateste part off it out off our view by reason off the hill that interposed, we saw plainly advancing in order towards us,* and the winde blowing somewhat westwardly, by the enemy's advance so much on their right hand, it was evident, that he designed to get the wind off us : which occasioned the General to draw down into a large fallow field on the north-west

* The main body of the foot was under the Kinge, led on by the Lord Astley, (whom the Kinge had lately made a Baron; the right wing of horse by Prince Rupert; the left wing of horse by Sir Marmaduke Langdale; in the reserve were the Kinge's Life Guards, commanded by the Earl of Lindsey, and Prince Rupert's regiment of foot, with the Kinge's horse guards commanded by the Lord Bernard Stuart, newly made Earl of Litchfield.—*Lord Clarendon.*

side of Naseby, flanked on the ~~left side~~ with a hedge,* which was a convenient place for us to fight the enemy in. And indeed seeing his resolution to advance upon us, we took the best advantage we could off the ground, possessing the ledge of a hill, running from east to west; upon which our armie being drawn up, fronted towards the enemy. But considering it might be off advantage to us to draw up our armie out off sight off the enemy, who marched upon a plain ground towards us, we retreated about an hundred paces from the ledge off the hill, so that the enemy might not perceive in what form our battel was drawn, nor see any confusion therein, and yet we to see the form off their battel; to which we could conforme ourselves for advantages, and recover the advantage off the hill when we pleased, which accordingly we did. The enemy perceiving this retreat, thought (as since they have confessed) we were drawing off to avoid fighting (and just then it was brought to the King, that our armie was flying to Northampton) which did occasion them the more to precipitate; for they made so much haste that they left many of their ordnance behinde them. The General together with the Major General, put the several brigades of foot into order: having committed the ordering off the horse to Lieutenant General Cromwell and Colonel Ireton† Commisary General of horse, who did obtain

* A meer hedge which parts the Lordships of Sulby and Naseby.

† Henry Ireton was the eldest son of German Ireton, Esq., of Attenton, in the county of Nottingham. He was born A.D.

from the General, that seeing the horse were near six thousand, and were to be fought in two wings, his Excellency would please to make Colonel Ireton, Commissary General of horse, and appoint him to command the left wing that day; the command off the right wing being as much as the Lieutenant General could apply himself unto. Which being granted by the General, the Lieutenant General assyned him five regiments off horse, a division off horse out off the association, for that wing; and the dragoons to hire the fore-mentioned hedge to prevent the enemie from annoying the left flank off the armie. In the mean time, the Lieutenant General having six regiments off horse with him for the right wing, disposed them as the place gave leave. And the form of the whole you have here inserted.† Upon the enemies approach, the parliaments armie marched up to the brow off the hill, having placed a forlorne off foot (musquetiers) consisting off about 300, down the steep off the hill towards the enemie, somewhat more than carbine shot from the main battle, who were ordered to retreat to the battle, whensoever they should be hard pressed upon by the enemie. The enemie thus while marched up in good order, a swift march, with a greate deal off gallantry and resolu-

1610, and married to Bridget daughter of Oliver Cromwell, January, 15. 1646. He was bred to the law, but having raised a troop of horse for the parliament at the commencement of the civil war, he was presented with a Captain's commission in the new modelled army.—*Parish register of Horton in Oxfordshire. Journals VII.* 421.

† See the plan of the Battle.

tion, according to the form here inserted. It is hard to saye, whether wing off our horse charged first, but the result of this bloodie encounter will be easilie discovered in the following

EXPRESSES TO PARLIAMENT.*

I.

Indorsed—*To the Hon. Wm. Lenthall, Esq.†
Speaker to the House of Commons—Haste.*

“Honorable Sir,

“This morning, by day brake, wee marcht out Guilsboro, after the enemy. After an hours march wee discovered their horse drawne up at Sibbertoff three miles this side Harborough; an hour after their foot appeared; this was about 8 in the morning: by 10 we were disposed into a battalia on both sides; both sides with mighty shouts, exprest a hearty desire of fighting, having for our parts recommended our cause to God’s protection, and received the word, which was, God our strength; theirs, Queen Mary; our forlorne hopes begun the pla---, while both sides laboured for the hill and wynd, which in conclusyon w-- as it were equally divided. Our for-

* These documents were discovered amidst the ruins of a house in Palace Yard, Westminster, A D. 1754. The public is indebted for their communication to the Orford family.

† He died Sept. 1st, 1661, and by his own desire was privately buried at Burford in Oxfordshire; declaring in his last illness, that he desired no other epitaph than “vermis sum”: it is observable he was buried upon Sept. 3d.---*Noble’s Memoirs.*

lorne hope gave back, and their right wing of horse fell upon our left, with such gallantry, that ours were immediately routed; about 1000 ran along with them, but such was the courage and diligence of the right wing, backt with the foot, that they not only beat back the enemy, from the traine; but fell in with their foot, and after 2 hours dispute won all their ffield peeces (of which some are cannon) most of their baggage, mortar-peeces, boats 3000 arms, much powder, match, &c. and nigh 4000 prisoners; some 600 slayne, many commanders of note: of ours not above 200. Our horse are still in pursuit, and have taken many officers; their standard is ours, the King's waggon, and many ladyes. God Almighty give us thankful hearts for this great victory, the most absolute as yet obtayned. The General, Lieut. Gen. Cromwell, and Major Gen. Skippon (did beyond expression gallantly; so did all the other commanders and soldiers: wee have lost but 2 Captains. Tho this come late be pleased to accept it from your Honors

most Humble Servants,

HAR. LEIGHTON.

THO. HERBERT.

*Næzby where this fight was
this Saturday 14 Junii 1645.*

“Capt. Potter is dangerously wounded but hopes of his recovery, so is Capt. Cook.”

II.

*For the Hon Wm. Lenthall speaker of the commons
Hous of Parliament.*

“ Sir,

“ Being commanded by you to this service, I think myself bound to acquaint you with the good hand of God towards you and us.

“ We marched yesterday after the king, who went before us from Daventry to Haverbrowe, and quartered about six miles from him : this day we marched towards him ; he drew out to meet us. Both armies engaged ; we after three hours fight very doubtful, at last routed his army, killed and took about 5000, very many officers, but of what quality we yet know not : we took also about 200 carrag, all he had, and all his guns (being 12 in number I think) the rest Sakers. We pursued the enemy from three miles short of Haverbrowe to nine beyond, even to the sight of Leicester whither the King fled.

“ Sir, this is none other but the hand of God, and to him alone belongs the glory wherein none are to share with him. The general served you with all faithfulness and honour, and the best commendation I can give of him is, that I dare say he attributes all to God and would rather perish than assume to himself which is an honest and a thriving way yet as much for bravery must be given him in this action as to a man.

“ Honest men serv’d you faithfully in this action. Sir they are truly, I beseech you in the name of God not to discourage them.

“ I wish this action may beget thankfulness and humility in all that are concerned in it. He that ventures his life for the liberty of his country, I wish he trust God for the liberty of his conscience, and you for the liberty he fights for I as their Helpmate

who is your most humble Servant,

OLIVER CROMWELL.”

Haverbrowe, June 14th, 1645.

III.

Indorsed—*For the Hon. William Lenthall Esq ;
speaker of the House of Commons.*

“ Mr. Speaker,

“ Besides the general account I have alreadie given by one of my servants whom I sent up to London yesterday, I thought fit to send the bearer, Mr. Boles, who may more particularlye inform you concerning the abundant goodness of God to this arm and the whole kingdome in the late victorie at Naseby field. The whole body of their foot taken the slaine; such a list of the prisoners as could be made up in this short time I have sent, the horse all quitted the fieelde and were pursued within three miles of Leicester: their ammunitiion, ordnance, and carriages

all taken; among which there were two demy-cansons, a whole culverin, and a mortar piece, besides lesser peeces. We intend to move to Leicester, as soon as we have taken orders, with our prisoners and wounded men. All that I desire is, that the honor of this greate and never to be forgotten mercie may be given to God in an extraordinary day of thanksgiving, and that it may be improved to the good of his church and his kingdome, which shall be faithfully endeavoured by Sir

Your most humble servant,

THO. FAIRFAX.

The following by way of postscript.

“Some Irish are among the prisoners as I am informed, I have not time to make enquiry into it, I desire they may be proceeded against according to ordinance of parliament.* Major Gen. Skippon was shot thro’ his side, but notwithstanding he continued in the ffield with great resolution, and when I desired him to goe off the ffield, he answered he would not goe so long as a man would stand, still doing his office as a valiant and wise commander. Also Colonel Butler and Colonel Ireton upon their first charge were both dangerouslie wounded, behaving

* An ordinance had passed the houses, that no quarter should be given to any Irishman, or any papist born in Ireland; that they should be excepted out of all capitulations; and that whenever they were taken, they should forthwith be put to death.---*Rushworth V.* 729, *October 24. 1644.*

themselves very gallantlie. If I could enter into particulars, much might be spoken of the resolution and courage of many commanders both horse and foot in this days service."

Harris's Life of Cromwell.

DETAILS OF THE BATTEL

are given, with but a very unimportant variation from other historians, by one who was present during the conflict, in these words. "The field is about a mile broad where the battle was fought, and from the utmost flank off the right, to the left wing, took up the whole ground. The battel was fought much upon equall advantage, whether you respect the numbers on each side, there being in that not five hundred odds, or the ground it was fought upon,* being on both sides champaign, and in that respect equall, and the wynd att length favoured neither side more than the other. But in this the enemy had much the odds off us, that they had on their side not so few as fifteen hundred officers, that were old souldiers off great experience in forraign parts; when on the other hand, we had not ten officers that could pretend to any such thing, as the experiance of a souldier, save what this war had given them, being for the most part such, whose religion, valour, and present reason was their best conduct."

* The country was, indeed, open, but the parliamentary army had, evidently, the advantage of a rising ground.

“ It is hard to say, whether wing off our horse charged first: but the Lieutenant General (Cromwell) not thinking it fit to stand and receive the enemies charge, advanced forward with the right wing off the horse, in the same order wherein it was placed. Their word was ‘Queen Mary.’ Our word that day, was ‘God our strength.’* Col. Whaley† being the left hand on the right wing, charged first two divisions off Langdales horse, who made a very gallant resistance, and firing at a very close charge, they came to the sworde: wherein Colonel Whaley’s divisions routed those two divisions off Langdale’s, driving them back to Prince Rupert’s regiment, being the reserve off the enemies foot, whither indeed they fled for shelter, and rallied: the reserves to Colonel Whaley were ordered to second him, which they performed with a greate deal off resolution. In the mean time, the rest off the divisions off the right wing, being straightened by furzes on the right hand, advanced with greate difficultie, as also by reason off the uneavennesse off the ground, and a coney warren, over which they were to march, which put them somewhat out off their order in their advance. Notwithstanding which difficultie, they came up to the engaging the residue off the enemies horse on the

* Other accounts say “God and Queene Mary”:—“God with us.”

† A rigid puritan, and first cousin to Oliver, afterwards Lord Protector. For his services at Naseby the parliament, January, 21. 1645, 6 voted him to be Col. of Horse. He signed the King’s death-warrant.---*Noble’s Memoirs*,

left wing, whom they routed, and put into greate confusion, not one bodie off the enemies horse which they charged, but they routed,* and forced to fly beyond all their foot, except some that were for a time sheltered by the brigade off foot before mentioned. Colonel Rossiter, who with his regiment was just come into the field, as the armies were ready to close : was edged in upon the right flank off the right wing off horse, time not permitting a more fitting and equall disposal off him : whose timely comeing (according to his orders) gave him opportunity off such gallant performance in the battel as deserves an honourable mentioning."

"The horse off the enemies left wing being thus beaten from their foot, retreated back about a quarter off a mile beyond the place where the battel was fought. The successe off our main battel was not answerably ; the right hand off the foot, being the Generall's regiment, stood, not being much pressed upon : almost all the rest off the main battel being overpressed, gave ground and went off in some disorder, falling behinde the reserves ; but the Colonels and Officers doing the duty off very gallant men, in endeavouring to keep their men from disorder, and finding their attempt fruitlesse therein, fell into the reserves with their colours, choosing rather to

* This wing was commanded by the invincible Cromwell, whose repeated successes during the war had already gained for him the honourable appellation of *Ironsides*.---*Bank's life of Cromwell*.

fight and die, than to quit the ground they stood on. The reserves advancing, commanded by Col. Rainsborough, Col. Hammond, and Lieut. Col. Pride,* repelled the enemy, forcing them to a disorderly retreat. Thus much being said off the right wing and the main battel, it comes next in order, that an account be given off the left wing off our horse."

"Upon the approach off the enemies right wing off horse, our left wing drawing down the brow off the hill to meet them, the enemy coming on fast, suddenly made a stand, as if they had not expected us in so ready a posture; ours seeing them stand, made a little stand also, partly by reason off some disadvantage off the ground, and until the rest off the divisions off horse might recover their stations. Upon that the enemy advanced againe, where upon our left wing sounded a charge; the two left hand divisions off the left wing did not advance equally, but being more backward, the opposite divisions off the enemy advanced upon them. Off the three right hand divisions (before-mentioned) which advanced, the middlemost charged home, the other two coming to a close charge, routed the two opposite divisions off the

* A foundling in a church-porch. He was at first a drayman, but by siding with the popular party, established a brewery; and afterwards obtained a commission in the army, and rose to be a Colonel. He was a soldier of fortune, and consequently resolved to go great lengths. He may be justly called the bashaw of that parliament that made even majesty tremble. He too signed the King's death-warrant.---*Noble's Memoirs.*

emie (and the Commissary Generall Ireton* seeing one off the enemies brigades off foot on his right hand, pressing sore upon our foot, commanded the division that was with him, to charge that bodie off foot, and for theire better encouragement, he himself with greate resolution fell in amongst the musquetiers, where his horse being shot under him, and himselfe run through the thigh with a pike, and into the face with an halbert, was taken prisoner by the emie, until afterwards, when the battel turned, and the emie in greate distraction, he had an opportunitie to offer his keeper his libertie, if he would carry him off, which was performed on both parts accordingly.) That division off the enemies which was between, which the other division off ours should have charged, was carried away in the disorder off the other two; the one off those right hand division off our left wing that did route the front off the emie, charged the reserve too, and broke them, the other reserves off the emie came on, and broke those divisions off ours that charged them; the divisions off the left hand off the right wing were likewise overborne. having much disadvantage by reason off pits off water, and other peeces off ditches that they expected not, which hindered them in theire order to charge."

"The emie having thus worsted our left wing,

* Skinner's laconic description of Ireton runs thus. "He was esteemed the best orator off all the Colonels, and had a canting kind of preaching rhetoric more copious than eloquent,---*Motus Compositi*, page 58.

pursued their advantage, and Prince Rupert himself having persecuted his success upon the left wing, almost to Naseby town, on his return summoned the train, offering them quarter,* which being well defended with the firelocks, and a rear guard left for that purpose, who fired with admirable courage on the Prince's horse, refused to hearken to his offer, and the Prince probably perceiving by that time the success off our right wing off horse, he retreated in great haste to the rescue off the King's army, which he found in such a general distress, that instead of attempting anything in the rescue off them (being close followed in the rear by some of the Commissary General's, Col. Riche's, Col. Fleetwood's, Major Huntington's, and Col. Butler's horse) he made up further, until he came to the ground where the King was rallying the broken horse off his left wing, and there joined with them, and made a stand."

"To return again to our right wing, which prosecuted their success, by this time had beaten all the enemies horse quite beyond their foot, which when they had accomplished, the remaining business was with part to keep the enemies horse from coming to the rescue off their foot, which were now all at

* The inconsiderate courage off Rupert was not equal to compete with the cool and masterly conduct of Cromwell. Had he, at this critical juncture fallen in on the rear off the foot, the day had been secured; but according to custom, following the flying enemy, he never concerned himself with the safety off those behind.---*Memoirs of a Cavalier*, page 329.

mercie, except one tertia, which with the other part off the horse we endeavoured to break, but could not, they standing with incredible courage and resolution, although we attempted them in flanks, front and rear untill such time as the Generall called up his own regiment off foot (the Lieutenant Generall being likewise hastening off them) which immediately fell in with them, with butt end off muskets (the Generall charging them at the same time with horse) and so broke them. The enemie had now nothing left in the field, but his horse (with whom was the Kinge himselfe) which they had put again into as good order as the shortnesse off their time and our near pressing upon them would permit.”*

“The Generall (whom God preserved in many hazardous engagements of his person that day) seeing them in that order and our whole armie (saving some bodies off horse which faced the enemie) being busied in the execution upon the foot, and taking, and securing prisoners, endeavoured to put the armie againe in as good order, as they could receive, to the perfecting the worke that remayned: our foot were somewhat more than quarter off a mile behinde the horse, and although there wanted no courage nor resolution in the horse themselves alone to charge the

* About three miles northward off the scene off action, near the Moot-hill just above Farndon, a small party off the Kinge’s armie made a halt, drew up into a body, and seemed resolute on renewing the engagement, but quickly retired on the approach off the enemie.---*Clarendon’s history of the Rebellion.*

emie, yet for as much as it was not judged fit, to put anie thing to hazard, the businesse being brought (through the goodnesse of God) to so hopeful an issue, it was ordered our horse should not charge the emie until the foot were come up; for by this time our foot that were disordered upon the first charge, being in a shorter time than is well imaginable rallied again,* were comeing up in a fast march to join with our horse, who were again put into two wings, within carbine shot off the emie, leaving a wide space for the bataill off foot to fall in, whereby there was framed as it were in a trice, a second good batalia at the lattar end off the day; which the emie perceiving, and that if they stood, they must expect a second charge from our horse, foot, and artillerie, (they having lost all their foot and guns before) and our dragoons having already begun to fire upon their horse, they not willinge to abide a second shock upon so greate a disadvantage as this was likely to be, immediately ran away, leaving to our disposal

THE SPOILS OF THE FIELD.

“ Our horse had the chase of the emie from that place, within two miles off Leicester (being the space off fourteen miles†) took many prisoners, and had the

* The King's troops totally unlike those off Fairfax and Cromwell, even if they prevailed in a charge, could seldome be brought to rallie, and make a second charge upon the same day.---*Lord Clarendon.*

† About eighteen statute miles.

execution of them all that way:* the number off the slaine we had not a certaine account off by reason off the prosecution off our victorie, and speedy advance to the seducing off Leicester: the prisoners taken in the field were about five thousand, whereof were six Colonels, eight Lieutenant Colonels, eighteen Majors, seventy Captains, eighty Lieutenants, eighty Ensigns, two hundred other inferior Officers, besides the Kinge's footmen, and household servants, the rest common souldiers, four thousand five hundred."

"The enimie lost many gallant men, and indeed theire foot, commanded by the Lord Astley, were not wanting in courage; the whole booty off the field fell to the souldiers, which was considerable, there being amongst it, besides the riches off the court, and officers, the rich plunder off Leicester. Their train off artillerie was taken, all their ordnance (being brasse guns) whereof two were demi cannon, besides two mortar peeces (the enimie got away not one carriage) eight thousand arms and more, forty barrells off powder, two hundred horse, with theire riders, the Kinge's colours, the Duke of York's standard, and six off his colours, foure off the Queene's white

* Lord Clarendon says that "the victors killed in the pursuit, above one hundred women, whereof some were the wives off officers of qualitie." Admitting this charge, it is to be feared that the example had been too recently set them by the Cavaliers at the siege of Leicester.---See *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, page 325. Many of the royalists were slain at Marston Trussel and Lubbenham, adjoining villages, in the latter of which there is still a field retaining the name of Slaughter Field, or Slawford.

colours, with double crosses on each off them, and near one hundred other colours both off horse and foot, the King's cabinet, the King's sumpter, many coaches, with stores off wealth in them: it was not the least mercie in this victorie, that the cabinet letters fell likewise into our hands, and have been since published by the authority off parliament, to the viewe off the whole kingdome."

"After the battel was ended, and the horse gone in pursuit, the armie marched five miles* that night to Harborough (the head quarter.) Most off the prisoners that were taken in the fight, were that night brought into Harborough Church, except those that were wounded and sent to Northampton. The next day Col. John Fiennes, with his regiment,† Was sent up to London by the Generall, with the prisoners and colours taken in the fight; who had a great share in the performance off that day, being placed with his regiment in the right wing off the horse, carried himselfe gallantlie, and was very happy in his successe.

* About *six* measured miles from the field of battle. This is the third inaccuracy with regard to distance. The fact is before the statute mile, which was fixed in England A. D. 1593-35 Ellis, had become in general use, the mile was very often imperfectly defined. Besides the *computed* mile, which in general measured about a *statute mile and a half*, we find mention of the *long* or *large mile* and the *short mile*. The former was in many instances no misnomer, the Herald says "*a large myle* oute off Newerke," and Hearne "*at Stoke a mile beyond Newark.*" The distance referred to was full four statute miles.

† Col. Fiennes' regiment took 11 colours in the battel.—*Ludlow's Memoirs.*

The greate share Lieutenant Generall Cromwell had in this action, who commanded the right wing of horse (which did such service) is so known and acknowledged, that envy itselfe can neither detract from or deny. One passage relating to his service on this daye, which I received from one that well knew it, I shall relate amongst my

ANECDOTES OFF THE BATTEL.

“ He (the Lieutenant Generall Cromwell) being come not above two dayes before out off the association;* and (that day the battle was) attending the General in the field, who was going to draw up for an engagement: he had the charge and ordering off all the horse cast upon him by the General unexpectedly, but a little before the battel; which he had no sooner received, but it was high tyme to apply himselfe to the discharge off it; for before the field officers could give a tolerable account off the drawing up off the armie, the enemie came on amain in passing good order, while our armie was yet in disorder, or the order off it but an embrio: which Lieut. Gen. Cromwell perceiving, was so far from being dismaied att it, that it was *the rise and occasion off a most triumphant faith and joye in him.*”

* The first association was made in the northern counties in favour of the King, and afterwards a second was formed in the counties of Devon and Cornwall. The strength of the parliament, lay chiefly in the southern and eastern associations of the Kingdom. The members bound themselves to preserve the peace of the associated counties; to resist the aggression of the opposite party, and to succour their own.—*Rushworth V.* 66. 94.

“Had not Major General Skippon done gallantie,* he had not received such an early wound in his side ; and had he not a springe off resolution and boldnesse he had not stayed in the fiede as he did till the battel was ended, for being desired by his Excellencie General Fairfax to go off the fiede, he answered, *he would not stire, so long as a man would stand.*”†

“On the eveninge before the battel, about twelve att night, the Generall (Sir T. Fairfax) took horse and rode about both the horse and ffoot guards, till foure in the morninge (expecting the enemie would have shewn some gallantrie that night, and fallen upon some off his quarters as he had hindered them in their sport at hunting the daye before.) In the verie entrance whereof this hard condition befell the Generall himselfe ; that having forgott the word, he was stopped att the first guard ; and requiring the souldier that stood sentinell to give it him, he refused to do it, telling him he was to demand the worde, from all that past him, but to give it to none ; and so made the Generall stand in the wet, till he sent for the Captain off the guard to receive his commission to give the Generall the worde ; (in such subjection

* Skippon won the hearts of his soldiers by such speeches as these, “come my boys, my brave boys ! I will run the same hazard with you ; remember the cause is for God : come my honest brave boys, let us pray heartily and fight heartily, and God will bless us.”---*Noble's Memoirs.*

† “Skippon's wound proved so serious, that he could not join the armie againe, till the first off Maye next yeare, the daye the Generall came before Oxford. The Maior Generall was received by the armie with much joye.”---*Sprigge, 284, 44.*

are the highest, to those laws, that erst their sanction and authoritie in greate part from themselves) and in the end the souldier was rewarded for his dutie and carefulnesse, (as it was interpreted.)")

"A Commander off the Kinge's in this action knowing Lieut. Gen. Cromwell, advanced briskly from the head off his troops, to exchange a single bullet with him, and was with equall braverie encountered by him, both sides forbearing to come in; till theire pistols being discharged, the cavalier, with a slanting back blow off a broadsword, chanced to cut the ribbon that held Gen. Cromwell's murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head;* and now just as he was going to repeat his stroake, the General's troop came in and rescued him; and one off them alighted, and threw up his head-piece into his saddle, which he hastilie catching, clapped it on the wrong waye, and so bravelie fought with it the rest off the daye."†

Thus you have a true and exact relation off the worke off this daye. The following are

* This iron cap or head-piece, covered with black velvet, is now in the possession of a Mr. Cromwell (a relation of the Protector's) he resides in Essex Street, in the Strand; and is Clerk to St. Thomas's Hospital in London.---*Bank's Life of Cromwell, and Noble's Memoirs.*

† Lord Clarendon quotes *Whitelock*, page 259, for a similar accident happening to General Fairfax. He says, Fairfax had his helmet beat off but, however, rode up and down bare headed.

THE PRISONERS OFF WARRE,*

*who were taken in Nablesby Field, June 14th
1645, in Com. Northampton.*

Colonels, Sir Rise Page, Theophilus Gilby,
Lieutenant Colonels, Woodhouse, Lawson, Burys,
Thornton, Maior Bryin, Sir William Bridge, Pue,
Moore, Whitford, Den, Hooker, Risely. Captains
of Horse, Thornton, Shafty, Capt. Lieut. Carnaby,
Lambton.

Officers off the Kinge's Life Guards, Foote.

Captains, Fox, Lewens, Flyer, Benton, Barby,
Capt. Lieut. Waller, Lieut. Mewsey, Brown. En-
signe Chamberlain, Porter, Berkenhead, Ingolsby,
Mousehall.

Life Guard of Horse.

Captain Muson Reformado.

Officers off the Duke off York's Regiment.

Captain Fitzmorris, Widnam, Hill, Dier, Captain
Lieutenant Hawksworth, Lieutenant Rossey, Curlys,
Ryley. Ensigne Bennet, Rosley, Young, Bradshaw.

Prince Rupert's Regiment, Horse.

Lieutenant Fryeer.

Officers in Prince Maurice's Life Guard, Horse.

Captain Garret, Tempest. Lieutenant Baxter.

* From a MS. in the possession of the late Sir Thomas Cave, Bart.

Quarter Master Simpson.

Officers off the Lord Astley's Regiment, Foote.

Captain Walley, Jackson, Wright, Fowler, Bas-
kerfield Reformado. Ensigne Ridley, Rowland.
Bennet Corpale off the field.

Officers off Sir Barnards Regiment, Foote.

Captain Hoare, Fisher, Lieutenant Weller, Simons,
Smith, Harden. Ensigne, Chester, Homes, Symons.

Off Col. Appleyard's Regiment, Foote.

Captain Triwhit, Masters, Sanderson, Hubbart.
Lieutenant Middleton, Thomapson, Lewen, Baker.

Off Col. Bagott's Regiment, Foote.

Captain Diot, Glazier. Lieutenant Ward, Bag-
geley,^f Cowper Refor. Ensigne Sharpe, Blencarne,
Emmins, Thomas.

Off Col. Sir John Pawlet's Regiment, Foote.

Captain Mason. Lieutenant Birkwhit, Wynn,
Kirkman, Bradford, Burling. Ensignes, Yate, Glas-
cock, Hutchins, Rise, Cooke.

Off Col. Gerrard's Regiment, Foote.

Maïor Bishop, Captain Booth. Ensignes, Blancy,
Perrin.

Off Col. Page's Regiment, Foote.

Col. Page. Lieut. Col. Lawson. Maior Sir Wm. Bridges. Captain Etherington, Norton, Pearson, Carrington, Beneson, Simpson. Lieut. Vertaine, Eggleton, Pilkinton, Bates, Royndtree, Flexney, Ballard, Roberts. Ensignes, Etherington, Lyng, Scot.

Off Col. Lyle's Regiment, Foote.

Lieut. Col. Littleton. Maior Fowler. Captain Skirrough, Whitgreen, Littleton, Pocklington. Lt. Carter. Ensignes, Turpin, Littleton.

Off Col. St. George's Regiment, Foote.

Maior Whitmore. Capt. Owens, Lawrens, Lawrens, Herne. Lieut. Jones, Nassey, Jones, Jones. Ensigne Fenn.

Off Col. Murrey's Regiment, Foote.

Maior Whitford. Lieut. Sneyles, Griffise. Ensignes, Hygham, Cecil Refor.

Off Col. Sir Bard's Regiment, Foote.

Capt. Lesley, Deuolet. Capt. Lieut. Lawson, Lieut. Fowler, Twifield, Windsor. Ensignes, Dobyson, Fairbrother.

Off Col. Vaughan's Regiment, Horse.

Lieut. Col. Slaughter. Capt. Hosier, Lieutenant

**Armstrong. Cornet Edmonds. Lieut. Billingley,
Refor. Quarter Master Nurse.**

Col. Broughton's Officers, Foote.

**Capt. Lile, Polden. Lieut. Darrenfield, Oliver,
Morgan, Duppey. Ensignes, Vaughan, Pritchard,
Porter.**

Col. Tillard's Officers, Foote.

**Capt. Church, Dykes. Lieut. Busbridge. En-
signes, Harrison, Bowen, Dillon, Loftus, sen.
Loftus, jun.**

Col. Sir Fulk Hunk's Officers, Foote.

Lieut. Rewes, Perren. Ensign Smith.

Col. Lewsey's Officers, Foote.

**Capt. Lieut. Parker. Lieut. Johnson, Cole.
Besides these 4500 more prisoners.**

THE LIST OF THE SLAIN

in this decisive conflict, is very imperfect. I have, however, by a patient research, been enabled to draw up though a very limited one, yet a more ample account than what has been hitherto published. Their numbers have been variously estimated from one to four thousand of each army. Six thousand however left dead upon the field, and nearly equally divided between the two parties, seems to be the more general, and perhaps more credible report. Of these

the parliament lost comparatively speaking but few officers, the Kinge, Lord Clarendon tells us, left upon the field "one hundred and fifty officers and gentlemen of prime qualitie." Amongst these* one author enumerates. Sir Peter Brown of Kiddington, wounded, died at Northampton; Sir Thos. Dallison, slain; Cols. Bawd, Bagot; Lieut. Col. Sayer, Lawson, Frances; Majors Wilson, Rively, wounded, died in prison at London; Captains Markham, Messenger, Thorold, Greenbury, Gough, Cooke, Tomkins, Selby, Bush, Hoskins. Another writer,† supplies us with the names of Capt. Potter, Commissioner of Parliament, Capt. Cook, Commissary General of horse provisions, both were dangerously wounded and died; Master Robert Wolsey, assistant to the Quarter Master General of foot, wounded; Lieut. Col. Francis, of Major Gen. Skippon's regiment; Capt. Tomkins, of Col. Pickering's foot; Capt. Selby, of Col. Fleetwood's horse; Capt. Bush, of Lieut. Gen. Cromwell's horse; Capt. Hoskins, of Col. Ireton's horse; Major Gen. Skippon, wounded. A third historian‡ informs us of Commissary Gen. Ireton, wounded; Colonels Cooke, Butler, and Francis, wounded; and of the King's party the Earl of Lindsey, Sir Jacob Astley, and Col. Russel.

* Prestwicke in his Republica.

† Sprigge in his Anglia Rediviva

‡ Saunderson in his "Compleat history of the lyfe and raigne off Kinge Charles from his cradle to his grave."

HISTORICAL GLEANINGS.

PART IV.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE BATTLE OF NASEBY.

Ill fated Charles ! here once thy hopes grew bright,
A wintry morn, whose noon was lost in night,
For here they left thee feeble and forlorn,
To dark despair—a night without its morn.

NASEBY, A POEM.

THE consequences of this action, says Lingard,*
“ were to the royal cause most disastrous ; and the
campaign after this, presented little more than the
last and feeble struggles of an expiring party.
Among the royalists, hardly a man could be found,
who did not pronounce the cause to be desperate ; and
if any made a show of resistance, it was more through

† See Lingard's history of England, vol. X. page 309.

the hope of procuring conditions for themselves than of benefiting the interests of their sovereign.*

The successive events, which accompanied the declining fortunes of the unhappy monarch, I cannot supply in a more serviceable manner, than by an extract from a valuable publication, whose style though somewhat obsolete, has been in general characterised, as "equally nervous and concise."†
 "The royal forces now separated. The King with about 2500 horse, went through Cheshire into Wales, where he stayed some time till the beginning of August. Sir Marmaduke Langdale went with about the same number to Newarke, these being all that could be got together, so complete was the defeat at Naseby. In September Bristol surrendered to the parliament;‡ not long after the King's troops un-

* Prince Rupert and other avowed advocates of war, now importuned him to yield to necessity, and seek for conditions with the parliament. The monarch replied, that they viewed the question with the eyes of mere soldiers and statesmen; but he was a King, and had duties to perform from which no human power could absolve him; to preserve the church, protect his friends, and transmit to his successors the lawful rights of the crown: God was bound to support his own cause: he might for a time permit rebels and traitors to prosper, but he would ultimately humble them before the throne of their sovereign.---*Clarendon*, II. 679.

† See Dickenson's History and Antiquities of Southwell.

‡ We have witnessed Rupert's distinguished loyalty and valour on Naseby field, but some suspicion attaches to his memory in this subsequent surrender of Bristol, of which place he was the governor. Charles, writing to one near the person of the Prince, says "tell my Son, that I shall grieve less to hear that he is knocked in the head, than that he should do so mean an action, as is the surrendering off Bristol Castell and fort upon the termes it was."---*Clarendon* II. 693.

der the command off the Earle off Litchfield, were defeated before the very walls off Chester, and immediately after this, came the news, that the brave Montross, with the last considerable armie, that appeared in the field in favour off King Charles, was entirely routed in Scotland ; Berkley Castle in Gloucestershire, and Devizes in Wiltshire, followed the example off the other garrisons, and surrendered to the armie off the parliament. Newark still held out for the King, and it was almost the only place off strength and consequence that did so. Thither the Kinge with the wreck off his armie repayred in the beginning off October. Here at length he determined to remayne, and make the best terms he could with the parliament, since all his efforts to overcome them proved ineffectual. He had quarrelled with Prince Rupert, and believed himselfe to be betrayed by him. Sir R. Willis who had succeeded Byron in the government off Newark Castle, had taken the part of the Prince too warmly, and was removed. These dissatisfied leaders with many inferior officers, who had attached themselves to theire fortunes, receded from Newarke, and took possession off Belvoir Castle. The unhappy monarch was now reduced to absolute despair. Proscribed by his parliament, hunted by his people, deserted by his relations, and without a friend he could trust. Irresolution alwayes accompanies a declining fortune. The determination to remayne att Newarke was abandoned as speedilie as it had been adopted ; and without anie

reasonable object in viewe, this miserable monarch began to march northward. He got to Tuxford the first day, and to Welbeck the second. Here he received an account, that a larger armie from Scotland, than England had ever seen, were on their march to Newarke, having subdued all opposition in the north. Doomed to be the sport off fortune, and not knowing where to wander, he turned back, but could not bear the thoughts off seeing Newarke, which had been the latest and cruellest scene off all his troubles. He retired himselfe with his guards to Southwell. He sent the Lord Digby, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with one thousand five hundred horse, to force there waye into Scotland to Montross, in hopes his fortunes might there revive in the absence off the Scotch armie. The remaynder off the troopes he ordered back to Newarke.”*

“News soon reached him that the horse which

* I cannot omit the following affecting, and well authenticated anecdote.---“The daye after his Majestie arrived at Southwell, walking about the towne, as it was his practice to do, he went into the shop of one James Lee, a fanatical shoemaker. Finding his person was not known, he entered into conversation with Crispin, and in the end, was measured for a pair of shoes. Lee had no sooner taken his Majesties foot into his hand to measure him, than eyeing him very attentively, he was suddenly siezed with a panic, and would not goe on. The Kinge surprized att his behaviour, pressed him to proceed, but Crispin absolutely refused, sayeing he was the customer himself had been warned off in his sleep the night before, that he was doomed to destruction, and those would never thrive who worked for him. The forlorne monarch whose misfortunes had opened his minde to the impressions off superstition, uttered an ejaculation expressive off his resignation to the will of Providence, and retired to the palace, which was the place off his abode.”---*Saunderson's Historie off the Lyfe and Reign off Charles the First.*

were gone northward, were entirely defeated. Three armies were now pressing forward to surround him. The Scotch under their Generall the Earle of Leven, were marching, according to their treaty with parliament, to invest Newarke. Pointz, with a large detachment off the parliament forces from Chester, had got as far as Nottingham on the same errand; and all the Lincolnshire troopes were att Grantham under the command off Rossiter. The Kinge once determined to have remayned at Southwell, and have delivered himselfe into the hands off Leven, whom he believed to be personally attached to him in gratitude for old favours, particularly for having made him an Earle, off which he had been verie desirous, when his Majestie went to Scotland in 1641, to redress the grievances complained off by that nation. His friends, however, dissuaded him from this; and news arriving, that the garrison off Nottingham had been informed where he was, and were comeing in pursuite off him, he instantlie departed for Newarke, where he had not been gone two hours, when 200 horse came from Nottingham to have taken him."

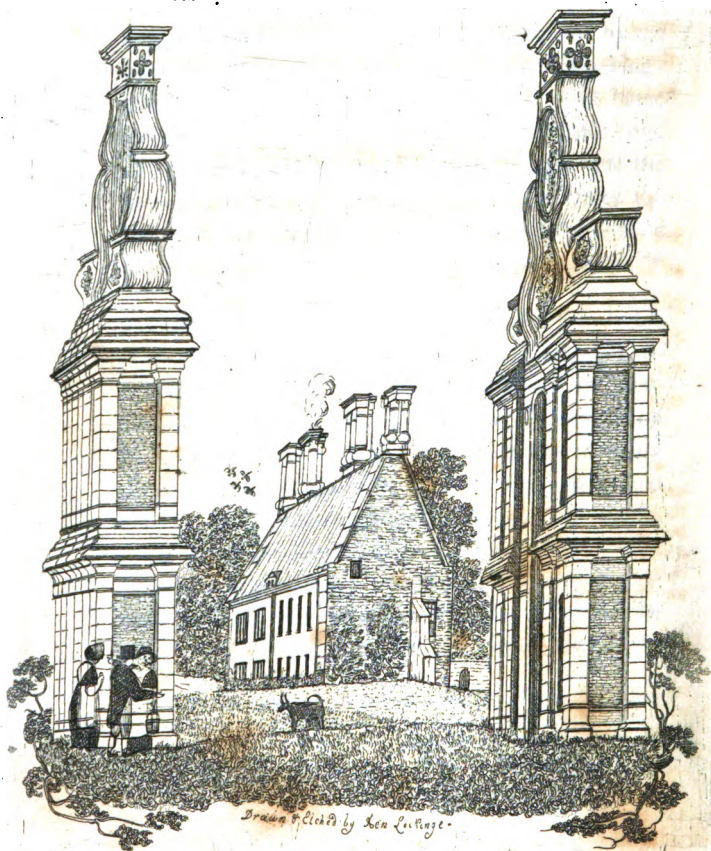
"He remayned at Newarke three dayes, settling the disorders off the garrison, and confyrming the Lord Bellasis in the government off it. The enemies forces being everie daye drawing nearer, the difficulty off escapeing being continually greater; in the night off the third off November, with about 500 horse, he marched out off Newarke, and proceeding close to the river Trent for some miles, slipped be-

tween the forces under Pointz, which were stationed from Kelham southward, and those under Rossiter, which were posted from the Beacon-hill, on the east side off the town towards Farndon on the south. His Majestie arrayed at Belvoir before morninge, where the governor onlie being apprized off his approach, was readie with some more horse and guides, to conduct him on his waye to Oxford. He passed by the enemies castles off Burleigh on the hill, and Rockingham, and got to Daventry, where the Oxford horse meeting him, conducted him safe to that citie. Everie armie which the Kinge had brought into the field, was now destroyed except that under the Prince of Wales in the west, whose defeate soon followed, and his Royal Highness escaped abroad."*

Fairfax was, however, now urging forwards his powerful and victorious army with the intention of laying siege to Oxford, which promised an easy surrender. To be taken captive and led in triumph by his rebellious subjects, was what the unhappy monarch had too many reasons to apprehend and abhor. He therefore adopted a resolution, which, under other circumstances, might be liable to the charge of imprudence; and having made his escape from Oxford, with no inconsiderable difficulty, he surrendered himself to the Scotch army, then lying

* The last person who submitted to take down the royal standard, was the Marquess of Worcester. He was then compelled to travel at the age of eighty, from Ragland Castle to London, but died immediately after his arrival.---*Lingard* X. 341.

THE RUIN OF HOLDENBY



Drawing & Engraving by John L. P. King.

at Southwell, under the command of the General. Lord Leven.* The Scots, however, presently betrayed their royal trust into the hands of the parliament; and the deliberations of that assembly, were now eagerly directed towards the means of his security. The House of Lords, voted that the royal prisoner should be permitted to reside at Newmarket; but the Commons refused their assent; and ultimately, by the decision of both houses, he was escorted under a strong guard to

THE PALACE OF HOLDENBY.†

Here the captive monarch divided the day between his studies and amusements. A considerable portion of his time he passed in his closet; the remainder in playing at bowls, a sport to which he was much attached, or riding in the company of the parliamentary commissioners in the immediate vicinity. He was very closely guarded, and without an order from

* The Scots treated the fugitive monarch with an appearance of respect, but he was presently to receive another proof, that majesty deprived of its externals, is but—a *jest*; for when he assumed the royal privilege of giving the word to the guard, Leven instantly interrupted him, saying, “I am the older soldier Sir: your majesty had better leave that office to me”—*Clarendon, III. 22.*

† My little work professes itself the *Gleanings of Naseby* Field, and as such, I have felt myself privileged to select and dilate upon those historical incidents, which though, in some instances, less important, are more local. This will be kindly admitted as a reason for my presenting every known particular of the monarch’s imprisonment at Holdenby, whose majestic ruins, as I have already observed, page 12, form an interesting object from the field of Naseby.

the parliament, no access could be obtained to the royal presence. The crowds who daily flocked around the palace to be touched for the evil, were dismissed by the guards; the servants who attended on his person, received the appointment from the commissioners of parliament, who constantly resided with him, and exercised an unwearied vigilance.

The captivity of the monarch had not continued many weeks, before an unexpected event occasioned his removal. The animosity which had for some time slumbered between the parliament and the army, had now burst into a blaze, and as the countenance of the monarch, might give weight to that side which should obtain it, Cromwell, who secretly conducted all the measures of the army, while he apparently exclaimed against their violence, resolved to possess the person of the captive sovereign. "In accordance with this design, says Lingard, an officer delivered to the King a petition from the army, that he would suffer himself to be conducted to the quarters of their general, by whom he should be restored to his honour, crown, and dignity. Charles replied, that he hoped one day, to reward them for their loyalty, but that he could not give his consent to a measure, which must, in all probability, replunge the nation into the horrors of a civil war."

He believed that this answer, had induced the army to abandon their design: but six weeks later,

on Wednesday the second of June 1647, while he was playing at bowls, Joyce, a cornet in the general's life guards, was observed standing amongst the spectators; and late in the evening of the same day, the commissioners in attendance, understood that a numerous party of horse, had assembled on Harles-tone heath, at a distance of two miles from Holdenby. Their object could not be doubted; it was soon ascertained, that the guards would offer no resistance, and Colonel Greaves, their commander, deemed it expedient to withdraw to a place of safety. About two in the morning the strangers appeared before the gates, and were instantly admitted. To the questions of the commissioners, who was their commander, and what was their purpose, Joyce replied, that they were all commanders, and that they had come to arrest Colonel Greaves, and to secure the person of the King, that he might not be carried away by their enemies. They then placed guards of their own, and spent the day in consultation. About ten at night, Joyce demanded admission to the royal bed-chamber, and informed the King, that his comrades were apprehensive of a rescue, and wished to conduct him to a place of greater safety. Charles signified his consent, on the condition, that what then passed between them in private, should be repeated in public. Accordingly at six the next morning, the parties took their station on the steps of the door, where, the troopers being drawn up before them, the following singular dialogue occurred between

THE KING AND CORNET JOYCE.*

KING.—Mr. Joyce I desire to ask you, what authority you have to take charge of my person and convey me away?

JOYCE.—I am sent by authority of the army to prevent the design of their enemies, who seek to involve the kingdom a second time in blood.

KING.—That is no lawful authority. I know of none in England but my own, and after mine, that of the parliament. Have you any written commission from Sir Thomas Fairfax?

JOYCE.—I have the authority of the army, and the general is included in the army.

KING.—That is no answer. The general is the head of the army. Have you any written commission?

JOYCE.—I beseech your majesty to ask me no more questions. There is my commission, pointing to the troopers behind him.

KING.—(with a smile),—I never before read such

* It will add considerable interest to this dialogue, when the reader is informed of a fact but very little known; that this Cornet, afterwards Col. Joyce, was eventually, *the executioner of the King*. Lily, in the history of his life and times, says, the next Saturday after Charles I. was beheaded, our principal discourse at dinner, was—who it was that beheaded the King? Opinions were various; and after dinner Robert Spavin, Cromwell's Secretary, who was of the party, said to me in private; these are all mistaken, it was *Lieut. Colonel Joyce*. I was in the room when he fitted himself for the work, stood behind him when he did it, and when done went in again with him. There is no man knows this but my Master Cromwell, Commissary Ireton, and myself.

a commission : but it is written in characters fair and legible enough ; a company of as handsome proper gentlemen, as I have seen a long while. But to remove me hence you must use absolute force, unless you give me satisfaction as to these reasonable and just demands which I make : that I may be used with honour and respect ; and that I may not be forced in anything against my conscience or honour, though I hope that my resolution is so fixed, that no force can cause me to do a base thing. You are masters of my body, my soul is above your reach.”

“The troopers signified their assent by acclamation : and Joyce rejoined, that their principle was not to force any man’s conscience, much less that of their sovereign. Charles proceeded to demand the attendance of his own servants, and when this had been granted, asked whither they meant to conduct him. Some mentioned Oxford, others Cambridge, but at his own request Newmarket was preferred. As soon as he had retired, the commissioners protested against the removal of the royal person, and called on the troopers present to come over to them, and maintain the authority of the parliament. But they replied with one voice, “none, none :” and the King trusting himself to Joyce and his companions, rode that day as far Hinchinbrook Priory, and afterwards proceeded to Newmarket, his ultimate destination.”*

* The apartments of the royal prisoner, the chambers of his attendants and guards, the private and public communications with the state rooms, the site of the bowling-green, and

Successive remonstrances, were now passing between the parliament and the army: one act of aggression producing another, until at length their protracted and implacable animosity, subsided in the established prevalence of the military power. The "cedant arma togæ" of the Roman orator, was now disregarded, and the more inveterate opponents of the ruling party, were, by one of the most atrocious invasions of the parliamentary privileges on record, expelled from their seats in the house at the point of the bayonet, and finally ejected from every office connected with the administration of public affairs. The King, meanwhile, continued in the custody of the army—the forlorn victim of caprice and indignity. The termination of his miseries was, however, rapidly approaching. A vote now passed through the house of commons, declaring it treason in the monarch to levy war against his parliament, and a high court of justice, was, in accordance with its provisions, appointed for

THE TRIAL OF THE KING.

Colonel Harrison† was commanded to conduct the

several other objects of historical interest, are cheerfully exhibited to the public by the present occupant of Holdenby, who informed me not long ago, that seldom a day passed, especially in the summer season, without visitors of every rank from the peer to the peasant.

† This man played a prominent part in the battle of Naseby, as Major of horse, after which he was promoted to a Colonelcy. He signed the death-warrant, and was at the Restoration, executed as a regicide. It is affirmed, that he was the son of a butcher.---*Noble's Memoirs.*

royal prisoner from Hurst castle, his last place of imprisonment, to Windsor, and from thence to London. The people, who ran in crowds to catch a glimpse of their sovereign, could not but feel deeply affected at the change that appeared in his face and person. He had allowed his beard to grow; his hair had become venerably grey, rather by the pressure of anxiety, than the hand of time; while his apparel, bore every mark of misfortune and decay. Thus stood the wretched Charles the First, a solitary figure of majesty in distress, a figure, which even his adversaries could not behold without reverence and compassion. The court before which he appeared, consisted of one hundred and thirty three persons, principally officers of the army, but of this number not more than seventy actually sat upon the trial. Charles, though produced as a criminal, sustained all the dignity of a king; he surveyed the members of the court with a stern and haughty air, which abashed and irritated his enemies. While the clerk read the charge, he appeared to listen with indifference: but a smile of contempt was seen to quiver on his lips, at the passage which described him as "a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public and implacable enemy to the common-wealth of England." At the conclusion the president called upon him to answer, but he resolutely persisted in denying the jurisdiction of the court. He perceived, he said, no appearance of an upper house, which was necessary to constitute a just tribunal; that he was willing

before a legitimate power, to enter into the particulars of his defence ; but that before them he must decline any apology for his conduct, lest he should be considered the betrayer of, and not the martyr for, the constitution of England. The president in support of the court, insisted that they had received their power from the people, the source of all right. He pressed the prisoner not to decline the authority of the court, which was delegated by the commons of England ; and he repeatedly interrupted and overruled the King in his attempts to reply.*

When the court resumed, the stern and haughty president, proceeded to animadvert in harsh and severe language on the principal events of his reign. The meek spirit of the prisoner, was at length roused : he made an attempt to speak, but he was immediately silenced with the remark, that the time of his defence was past ; and that nothing remained for his judges but to pronounce sentence ; for they had learned from holy writ, that "to acquit the guilty, was of equal abomination as to condemn the innocent." The judgment was accordingly read, to which the King listened in silence, sometimes smiling with contempt, sometimes raising his eyes to heaven, as if he ap-

* In the course of these proceedings, the King having occasion to address the Solicitor General, gently tapped him on the shoulder with his cane, crying "hold, hold." At the same moment the silver head of his cane fell off, and rolled along the floor. It was an accident, which might have happened at any time, but in this superstitious age, it could not fail to be regarded as a presage of his approaching decapitation.---*Nelson's Trial of Charles I.*

pealed from the malice of men, to the justice of God. At the conclusion, the commissioners arose in a body, to testify their assent, and Charles made a last and more earnest effort to speak, but the president ordered him to be removed, and the guards hurried him out of the hall.* We have at length reached the closing scene of this sanguinary drama—

THE EXECUTION OF THE KING.

By his conduct during the trial, says Lingard, "Charles had exalted his character, even in the estimation of his enemies; he had now to prepare himself for a still more trying scene, and to nerve his mind against the terrors of a public and ignominious death. But he was no longer the man he had been before the civil war. Affliction had chastened and subdued his mind: he had learned from experience, to submit to the visitations of Providence: and he sought and found strength in the consolations of religion. On his return to Whitehall, his nephew, the prince elector, the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Hertford, and several other noblemen, came to the door of his bed-chamber, to pay their last respects to their sovereign: but they were told in his name, that he thanked them for their attachment, and

* It is affirmed, that clamorous imprecations assailed the monarch on his way from the hall; but this is too much to be believed of Britons. Rousseau says, "when once a criminal is condemned to die all resentment should cease" so says reason, and so also says humanity; but it must be confessed that these are voices seldom regarded in the times of civil discord.

desired their prayers: that the shortness of his time admonished him to think of another world; and that the only moments which he could spare, must be given to his children. These were two, the princess Elizabeth, and the duke of York; the former wept for her father's fate; the latter, too young to comprehend the cause, joined his tears through sympathy. Charles placed them on his knees, gave them such advice as was adapted to their years, and seemed to derive pleasure from the pertinency of their replies. In conclusion, he divided a few jewels between them, kissed them, gave them his blessing, and hastily retired to his devotions."

"On the last night of his life, the condemned monarch slept soundly about four hours: and early in the morning awakened Herbert, his faithful attendant, who slept on a pallet by his bedside. "This," he said, "is my second marriage day. I would be as trim as may be; for before night I hope to be espoused to my blessed Jesus." He then pointed out the clothes which he meant to wear, and ordered two shirts, on account of the severity of the weather. "For," he observed, "were I to shake through cold, my enemies would attribute it to fear. I would have no such imputation. I fear not death. Death is not terrible to me. I bless my God, I am prepared."

It was about ten o'clock A. M. when Colonel Hacker arrived with the fatal summons. The King prepared to obey; and was escorted from St. James

to Whitehall, the place of execution, between two detachments of military, himself on foot. Dinner had been prepared for him at Whitehall, where some little delay occurred, but he declined to eat, preferring to devote the little time that would be allowed him, to prayer and discourse with his spiritual attendants. At twelve o'clock, the procession began once more to move onwards, and having proceeded through the long gallery, lined on each side with soldiers, the condemned monarch, through an aperture which had been purposely made at the end, stepped at once upon the scaffold. It was hung with black: at the further end were seen the two executioners, the block, and the axe: below appeared in arms several regiments of horse and foot: and beyond, as far as the eye was permitted to reach, waved a dense and countless crowd of spectators. The King stood collected and undismayed amidst the apparatus of death. There was in his countenance, that cheerful intrepidity, in his demeanour, that dignified calmness, which had characterized in the hall of Fotheringay, his royal grandmother, Mary Stuart. It was his wish to address the people; but they were kept beyond his reach by the swords of the military, and therefore confining his discourse to the few persons standing with him on the scaffold, he took, he said, the opportunity of denying in the presence of his God, the crimes of which he had been accused. It was not to him, but to the houses of parliament, that the war and all its evils should be charged. He then

added, at the suggestion of Dr. Juxon his spiritual attendant, "I die a christian according to the profession of the church of England, as I found it left me by my father;" after which addressing himself to the prelate, he said "I have on my side a good cause and a gracious God."

BISHOP.—There is but one stage more: it is turbulent and troublesome, but a short one. It will carry you from earth to heaven, and there you will find joy and comfort.

KING.—I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown.

BISHOP.—You exchange an earthly, for an eternal crown—a good exchange.

Being ready, he bent his neck on the block, and after a short pause, stretched out his hands as a signal. At that instant, the axe descended; the head rolled from the body; and a deep groan burst from the multitude of spectators.* But they had no leisure to testify their feeling; several regiments of

* The royal corpse was deposited in a vault in the choir of St. George's Chapel, Windsor. Some doubts, however, having arisen on the subject, and an aperture having been made by chance, into the vault supposed to contain the remains of Charles I. Henry VIII. and his third Queen Jane Seymour, his present majesty then *r. n.* ordered an investigation to ascertain the truth. One of the coffins was of lead with a leaden scroll in which were cut the words "King Charles." An opening was made, and the discovery of a head, bearing a strong resemblance to the portraits of Charles I. and detached also from the trunk, sufficiently verified the fact.---*See an account of what appeared at the opening of the Coffin of King Charles I. by Sir H. Hallford, Bart.*

horse dispersed them in different directions, and in a few minutes all was calm and tranquil.

Unhappy Charles! should he who drags the chain
Of weakness, age, infirmity, and pain,
In fretful mood each galling link combine,
To weave a chain of woes resembling thine,
Though link with link united should extend,
From life's first dawn unbroken to its end,
His utmost stretch of anguish scarce should span
The space 'ere thy worst destiny began.

NABBY, A POEM.

A FEW SEASONABLE REMARKS

cannot fail to accompany this awful catastrophe. Such, says Lingard, "was the end of the unfortunate Charles Stuart, an instructive lesson to the possessors of royalty, to watch the growth of public opinion, and to moderate their pretensions in conformity with the reasonable desires of their subjects. Had he lived at a more early period, when the sense of wrong, was quickly subdued by the habit of submission, his reign would probably have been marked by fewer violations of the national liberties. It was resistance that made him a tyrant. The spirit of the people, refused to yield to the encroachments of authority; and one act of oppression placed him under the necessity of committing another, till he had revived and enforced all those odious prerogatives, which though usually claimed, were very sparingly exercised by his predecessors. For some years his efforts seemed successful; but the Scottish insurrec-

tion revealed the delusion; he had parted with the real authority of a king, when he lost the confidence and affection of his subjects."

"But while we blame the illegal measures of Charles, we ought not to screen from censure, the subsequent conduct of his principal opponents. From the moment that war seemed inevitable, they acted as if they thought themselves absolved from all obligations of honor and honesty. They never ceased to inflame the passions of the people, by misrepresentation and calumny: they exercised a power far more arbitrary and formidable, than had ever been claimed by the King; they punished summarily, on mere suspicion, and without attention to the forms of law; and by their committees, they established in every county, a knot of petty tyrants, who disposed at will of the liberty and property of the inhabitants. Such anomalies, may perhaps be inseparable from the jealousies, the resentments, and the heart-burnings, which are engendered in civil commotions; but certain it is, that right and justice, had seldom been more wantonly outraged, than they were by those, who professed to have drawn the sword in defence of right and justice."

"Neither should the death of Charles be attributed to the vengeance of the people. They for the most part declared themselves satisfied with their victory: they sought not the blood of their captive monarch; they were even willing to replace him on the

throne, under those limitations which they deemed necessary for the preservation of their rights. The men who hurried him to the scaffold, were a small faction of bold and ambitious spirits, who had the address to guide the passions and fanaticism of their followers, and were enabled through them to controul the real sentiments of the nation. Even of the commissioners appointed to sit in judgment on the King, scarcely one half could be induced to attend at his trial; and many of those who concurred in his condemnation, subscribed the sentence with feelings of shame and remorse. But so it always happens in revolutions. The most violent put themselves forward: their vigilance and activity seems to multiply their numbers, and the daring of the few, wins the ascendancy over the indolence, or the pusillanimity of the many."

Having traced the consequences of this decisive action to its catastrophe, I shall leave the protectorate of Cromwell, whose death, it is well known, restored the government to its original form, and return to the field of Naseby, my more immediate province, whither the reader will accompany me in search of an object, intimately connected with its celebrity—

THE PROTECTORS GRAVE.

This subject has been productive of frequent controversy with our local historians and antiquaries, but their *grave* deliberations, have not as yet

produced a conclusive result. An impassable chasm in the evidence of those, who have hitherto contended for the interment of this great man on the field of Naseby, aided by a very peremptory *hearsay* argument, produced by their opponents, has in general consigned his remains to the Abbey Church of Westminster, and ultimately to the mockery and insult of his old enemies the cavaliers, on the gallows at Tyburn. My impressions, I must say, have been always strongly in favour of Naseby, and those impressions have been indelibly fixed by the discovery of new evidence during the progress of the present work. I shall, however, furnish my reader with a statement of the various *pros* and *cons*, connected with this mysterious subject, and leave him to determine his own opinion; conceding to the arguments of our opponents, that to which they may be by courtesy entitled, or at least of which I am not desirous to avail myself—the advantage of precedence.

It is affirmed, that the general current of history, consigns the remains of Cromwell to Westminster Abbey, and that even his biographer, Banks, expressly says “the Protector was buried among our Kings, with a royal pomp.”* As to the general current of history, however, knowing that he died in the exercise of sovereign power, the historian would feel but little hesitation in consigning him to a

* See Bank's Review of the political life of Oliver Cromwell, page 233.

sovereign's grave. In the survey of centuries, this would be regarded as a point of subordinate importance, and as such, dismissed without notice, or at least without inquiry. And with regard to the affirmation of Banks, it will be recollected, that he was not only the biographer, but the avowed advocate of the Protector; and, therefore, that it would answer his purpose, to bury that hero with royal pomp, whom he had been careful to invest with more than royal power.

If this evidence be rejected, it is retorted, there still remains the indisputable testimony of one Margaret Dawson, who received the statement from her grandmother, by whose fidelity and vigilance, it had been transferred from her great-grandmother, who had it from Sir James Norfolk, the High Sheriff of Middlesex at the time of the restoration, and who averred, that "he found out the body of Oliver Cromwell, which was hid in the wall in Westminster Abbey; and when discovered was with great difficulty got at; the body being first wrapt in a sheet of lead, and afterwards put into a wooden coffin, and cemented close; it was then put into a leaden coffin, and another wooden one, and so on for about half-a-dozen, and cement poured between each to make it secure; that several pick-axes were broken, before they could gain their ends; but at length after much labour and toil, they came to the sheet of lead which enclosed the body. To a chain about his neck, hung a gold gorget with his name, and other writing upon

it; which being taken off, Sir James caused him immediately to be hung upon the gallows at Tyburn.”*

To this accumulation of grandsires gossip, it so happens, that I am enabled to apply another specimen similarly attested, but which conveys the remains of Cromwell not to Westminster Abbey but to “the deepest part of the Thames;”† an office which was undertaken and performed by two of his near relations and some trusty soldiers, the following night.” Now this collision of the two testimonies, is rather unfortunate, for it tends to invalidate both; and the only fair inference, that can be drawn from such discrepant statements, appears to be a presumptive proof, that something extraordinary, accompanied the final disposal of this extraordinary character.

The reserve of our opponents, is, however, in readiness, and it is urged upon us as a notorious fact, that the body of the usurper Cromwell, was, at the Restoration, dislodged of its abode in Westminster Abbey, in order to gratify, by its suspension from the gallows at Tyburn, the loyal zeal of an infuriated mob. That such spectacle was exhibited, I am not disposed to doubt; nor will those who are acquainted with the fickle soul by which a mob is animated, be at all surprised, that such a spectacle of their lately idolized object, should supply them with immoderate

* See European Magazine, January 1809.

† See History of England during the reigns of the royal house of Stuart.

joy ; but that the body so displayed was that of the the Protector, I see too many reasons to dispute. It would be a task of but little difficulty to impose upon the blind impetuosity of the mob, especially three years after its interment, the body of any subordinate character for that of the person they desired ; and it would be much easier to do this, than to convince this "monster with many ears," that the object of their clamour, was not to be found : besides it would of course form one feature in the policy of that period, that every facility should be afforded towards such a display of popular fervour. I am, therefore, fully disposed to acquiesce in the statement, that such suspension took place at Tyburn, and that the great portion of the people, believed it to be the body of Cromwell ; but I am prepared to shew, that he who had outwitted the world during his life, had by this time, snugly shrouded his sagacity with his mortal remains, on that scene of his invincible prowess **THE FIELD OF NASEBY.**

It is well known, that the Protector found no inconsiderable difficulty in retaining the power he had assumed, and that he scarcely dared to contemplate its existence beyond his own ; and to this cause we may perhaps ascribe the indifference he invariably betrayed, when urged upon the subject of his succession. In the event of that counter revolution, which he anticipated, there was little reason to suppose, that the sanctuary of the tomb, would be a security against popular violence ; and this reflection was not

lost upon Cromwell, nor after his demise, upon those, who were most nearly concerned in the disposal of his remains. This will appear from the testimony of an author of credit, who affirms, that rigid precautions were taken after the decease of the Protector, "for that considering the malice of the cavaliers, it was most certain they would insult the body of their most dreadful enemy, if ever it should be in their power."* Under these very reasonable apprehensions, it must appear every way unlikely, that Westminster Abbey should be selected as the receptacle of his remains; and I have heard of no other which has been surmised, with even the shadow of probability, excepting "the Thames below Greenwich," and "Naseby Field." The former has been very generally, and I believe justly, disclaimed owing to a want of sufficient evidence, or I should have been inclined, in my deferent decision between its claim, and that of Westminster Abbey, to adjudge the balance of probability very greatly in its favour: the Thames would at least supply, what Westminster could not—a refuge from the prospect of popular violence and indignity. Our *suspensions* of the Protector's actual interment at Westminster, ought not after this to be charged with absurdity, and more particularly when we consider, that the like suspicions possessed the minds of those, who from their proximity to the event, had means of information, which are denied to

* See Note in Bank's Review of the political life of Oliver Cromwell, page 234.

us. One writer observes, "it remains a *question* where his body was really buried. It was, he continues, in *appearance* at Westminster Abbey;"* and even Banks inclines to a doubt, suggested by others, "whether his body, was *really* carried in that pompous funeral procession or not."

But our suspicions must give place to positive conviction, when we peruse the subjoined extract from the writings of one who witnessed the funeral ceremony, and whose testimony, though delivered in a somewhat homely phrase, ought not on that account to be deemed the less credible. "The corpse (presently after his expiration) being private^{ly} burried for the aforesaid reason,† a coffin was on the 26th off September, about ten off the clock att night, private^{ly} removed from Whitehall in a mourning herse, attended by his domestic servants (none off whom shed one teare) to Somerset House, where it remayned in private for some dayes, till all things were in

* The author of "the compleat History of England."

† "The aforesaid reason" is thus presented to us. "Continuing in this condition, he dyed on Friday the said third of September att 3 off the clock in the afternoone, though divers rumours were spread, that he was carryed away in the tempest the day before: his body being opened and embalmed, his milt was found full off corruption and filth, was so strong and stinking, that after the corpse were embalmed, and filled with aromattick odours, and wrapt in cerecloth six double, in an inner sheet off lead, and a strong wooden coffin, yet the filth broke through them all, and raised such a noisome stink, that they were forced to burry him oute off hand; but his name and memory stinks worse."---*Heath's Flagellum, or the Lyfe, Death, Birth, and Burrial off Olyver Cromwell, the usurper faithfullie descrybed*, page 167-8-9.

readinesse for publick review; which being accomplished, his *effigie* was with great state and magnificence exposed openly; multitudes flocking daile to see the sight, which appeared in this order." (Here follows a long and magnificent account of his lying in state.) "In this manner he continued until the 23d off November, which daye was appointed to carrie him in solemnitie to Westminster Abbey." This greate funerall, was performed with verie grate state, in this manner following. All things being in readinesse, the *waxen picture* off the Protector (with a crown on his head, a sworde by his syde, a globe and sceptre in his hands) was taken down from his standing, and layed in an open charriott, covered all over with black velvet, and adorned with the most gaudy and flaunting plumes, and sentcheons, and drawn by six horses in black velvet." (Here follows the splendid order of procession.) "The *effigy* in this manner being brought to the west-gate of the Abby Church off Westminster, it was taken from the charriott by ten gentlemen, who carried it to the east end off the churehe, and there placed the *picture* in a moste magnificent structure, built in the same forme as one before had been, on the lyke occasion, for Kinge James, but much more statelie." I shall now take it for granted that the object of our search—"the grave of the Protector," is not to be found at Westminster Abbey, and the only remaining question is—where shall we find it?

It is not necessary to assert, that Cromwell was

under the constant impulse of a warlike and ambiguous genius ; nor is it incumbent on me to prove, that he would very probably, in death as in life, detach himself from the ordinary herd of mankind ; or that his martial spirit would be likely to have some influence in selecting his sepulchral seclusion : these are almost necessary deductions. We should, therefore, scarcely feel surprised, were Dunbar, or Worcester the place selected for his last abode ; but especially Naseby, where his prowess had been most successful, and whose decisive action, mainly contributed to his subsequent advancement. Now it so happens, that we have the evidence of the subjoined extract, from the memoranda of the present Vicar of Naseby, the reverend W. Marshall, M. A. to prove the arrival of his remains at *Huntingdon*, on their road *elsewhere*. “The fact of Oliver Cromwell’s private interment, is corroborated by Oliver Cromwell of Cheshunt in the county of Herts, Esq., the last male descendant of the Protector ;—who has more than once related to me the following circumstance, as he had received it from his mother, who lived at Enfield near Cheshunt, and died at the advanced age of 103. This gentlewoman when quite young, resided on the family estate at Cheshunt, where Mr. Richard Cromwell, the son of the Protector, formerly lived, and she well remembered an old servant of his, who died at a very great age, and from him had the following narrative. When he was a boy, he remembered the death of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, and that the corpse was brought through Cheshunt in the night ;

and that horses were ordered to be in readiness to convey it down to Huntingdon, to which place *he went himself* to assist in attending the horses, and to bring them back ; and that the corpse did not remain in Huntingdon but was carried on much further."

The town of Huntingdon, however, being situated in a direction towards other scenes of the Protector's valour and victory besides that of Naseby, our object had not been fully attained, but for the valuable testimony of a Mr. Barkstead, son of Col. Barkstead the regicide, who (says the author of the compleat history of England) is now living, and frequents Richard's Coffee-house within Temple Bar, and who is ready to depose, " that he was about fifteen years old at the time of Cromwell's death : that the said Barkstead his father, being Lieutenant of the Tower and a great confidant of Cromwell's, did among other such confidants, in the time of his illness, desire to know where he would be buried, to which the Protector answered, where he had obtained the greatest victory and glory, and as nigh the spot as could be guessed, where the heat of the action was, viz : *in the field of Naseby*, in the county of Northampton. At midnight soon after his death, the body (being first embalmed and wrapped in a leaden coffin) was in a herse conveyed to the said field at Naseby, Mr. Barkstead himself attended by order of his father, close to the herse. Being come to the field, they found about the midst of it, a grave dug about nine feet deep, with the green sod carefully laid on one

side, and the mould on the other ; in which the coffin being put, the grave was instantly filled up, and the green sod laid exactly flat upon it ; care being taken that the surplus mould should be clean removed. Soon after the like care was taken, that the ground should be plowed up, and it was sowed successively with corn."

" Without our help thy memory is safe ;
 They only want an epitaph,
 That do remain alone
 Alive in an inscription,
 Remembered only on the brass, or marble stone."

Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester.

If, however, the remains of Cromwell, slumber beneath the turf of Naseby Field uncommemorated, this seat of historic fame, has been distinguished by several other

MONUMENTAL RECORDS.

In this wide span of years, the fatal place
 Had been forgot, but yonder pile uprears
 Above the firs that bristle at its base,
 A granite beacon to revolving years,
 That bids the reckless mariner beware,
 For once the drifting state had foundered there.

On the base of a neat Obelisk, erected on the summit of the plain by its patriotic and spirited proprietor, my patron and friend, the following inscription has met with the most decided approbation of all parties and persuasions.

TO COMMEMORATE THAT GREAT AND DECISIVE BATTLE, FOUGHT IN THIS FIELD ON THE 14th DAY OF JUNE, 1645, BETWEEN THE ROYALIST ARMY, COMMANDED BY HIS MAJESTY KING CHARLES THE FIRST, AND THE PARLIAMENTARY FORCES, HEADED BY THE GENERALS FAIRFAX AND CROMWELL, WHICH TERMINATED FATALLY FOR THE ROYAL CAUSE, LED TO THE SUBVERSION OF THE THRONE, THE ALTAR, AND THE CONSTITUTION, AND FOR YEARS PLUNGED THE NATION INTO THE HORRORS OF ANARCHY AND CIVIL WAR*—LEAVING A USEFUL LESSON TO BRITISH KINGS, NEVER TO EXCEED THE BOUNDS OF THE JUST PREROGATIVE, AND TO BRITISH SUBJECTS NEVER TO SWERVE FROM THE ALLEGIANCE DUE TO THE LEGITIMATE MONARCH.

This Pillar was erected by John and Mary Frances Fitz Gerald, Lord and Lady of the Manor of Naseby, A. D. 1825.

The following inscription, the production of Dr.

* The only critical observation I dare to prefer against this memorial is, and I object it with diffidence, that the Battle of Naseby did not "*plunge the nation into,*" but *relieved it from,* "the horrors of anarchy and civil war." The action at Naseby was decisive; it was speedily followed by the Protectorate, and the Protectorate by a bloodless Restoration.

Bennet, Bishop of Cork, was engraved by order of the late Right Hon. Lord Viscount Cullen, and placed in an alcove commanding a view of Naseby Field, at his princely Mansion, Rushton, in the county of Northampton.

Where yon blue field scarce meets our streaming eyes,
 A fatal name for England, NASEBY lies.
 There hapless Charles beheld his fortune cross'd,
 His forces vanquish'd, and his kingdom lost.
 There gallant Life a mark for thousands stood,
 And Dormer seal'd his loyalty in blood;
 Whilst down yon hill's steep side with headlong force,
 Victorious Cromwell chac'd the northern horse.
 Hence Anarchy our church and state profan'd,
 And tyrants in the mask of Freedom reign'd.
 In times like these, when party bears command,
 And faction scatters discord thro' the land;
 Let these sad scenes a useful lesson yield,
 Lest future NASEBYS rise in every field.

The subjoined memorial, was written for a Rustic Altar in a Grove at Hazelbeeche, Northamptonshire.

"Sacred to Monarchy, Freedom, and Peace.
 This small monument was placed in sight of
 Naseby Church, 30th January, 1771, by G.
 Ashby. May the best of Kings be afraid of
 nothing so much as encroaching upon the rights
 of the people. May the subject however fond
 of liberty, be quiet, be thankful, so long as he
 has no grievances to be redressed."

TRADITIONAL GLEANINGS*

on this celebrated plain, are but sparingly scattered ; nevertheless I do not feel myself at liberty to withhold what I have been enabled to collect, and therefore shall in the first place submit to the ingenuity of my reader, the *Naseby Enigma*. Some years after the battle, on a Shrove Tuesday, two women commenced a violent dispute in the church yard. The occasion of this altercation, has slipped through the fingers of time, and we can therefore only adjudge it to have had some very grievous origin, for from words we are assured, they resorted to the more weighty arguments of blows, which repeatedly fell with a very convincing weight ; when to the consternation of the combatants, a man, who was shot at the battle of Naseby, rushed forth from a neighbouring grave, and in a sepulchral tone of voice, bade the affrighted combatants depart in peace.

The solution of the above is simply this ; one Humphrey Thompson, a parishioner of Naseby, a quarter master, valiantly fighting for his royal master in this field, was wounded but not mortally. In the course of time, having obtained his discharge, he resigned the occupation of war, for the more peaceful office of parish clerk and sexton ; in the discharge of which latter duty, he rushed from a

* It reflects somewhat on the precision of his reverence, John Sturman, vicar of Naseby at the time of the battle, that no mention whatever of that important event is to be found in the register of the parish.

grave between the infuriated amazons as already described.

The following anecdote used to be related by the late Dr. Hill, Rector of Thorpe Malsor in Northamptonshire :—that he had a relation, a Mr. Mansell, who fought in the battle of Naseby Field, who was severely wounded in the breast and laid aside with the dead. Before his consignment to the grave, however, a young woman, the daughter of an apothecary, chancing to be upon the spot, excited by motives of compassion, felt his hand, and finding it to be very soft, exclaimed, “this certainly was a gentleman”; and upon observing, that the body was not yet cold, and feeling his pulse, which had not ceased to beat, she wrapped him in part of her clothing, and had him conveyed to a neighbouring village, where he ultimately recovered. He treated his deliverer with kindness until the time of his death, when he provided for her future comforts by a handsome annuity.

It is not at any very remote period, that an old man was living, named Warren, who had a perfect remembrance of his grandfather’s reporting to him, “that he was a strong boy of the age of nine or ten years, and was keeping cows in the field during the time of the battle; that he was present at the burial of the dead,* which was accomplished by the assist-

* The graves, near the scene of slaughter, are still distinctly visible; they have, as might be expected, become concave, and water stands in them throughout the winter season.

ance of the country people, who flocked thither from all quarters ; that some were stripped and others buried in their clothes, but in general, that the bodies were left so near the surface as to become in a short time extremely offensive, and that matter issued from the graves, and streamed several yards upon the ground, which having subsided, that the cattle ate those parts of the field for several years remarkably bare.”*

RELICS OF THE BATTLE

are to be found, in one shape or another, in almost every Armoury, Hall, or Cabinet of any note in this and the adjoining counties ; and even to this day, the discovery of cannon and musket balls, is an occasional occurrence, which transfers into the pocket of the plough-boy, the superfluous silver of the virtuoso.† Human bones are also discovered in frequent instances : this was especially the case, when labourers were employed in digging for gravel near a place called mill-hill in the years 1792—4.

The sabre worn by the Protector at Naseby, says Noble in his memoirs, is in the possession of the

* Some men will sport with the most serious things. I knew a parish clerk, who fed a number of sheep upon the turf of his church-yard, and who used to affirm, that his neighbours knew well enough how to appreciate the flavour of his *mortality mutton*.

† I visited the field of Waterloo some years ago, when its relics were a common object of traffic. A musket ball would there readily sell for one frank, but those of Naseby have been disposed of for three times the sum.

present Earl of Fanconberg; his head is engraven upon the blade, with this inscription, Oliver Cromwell, General for the English Parliament, 1652; above it *Soli Deo Glorior*; below it *Fide sed cui vide*; on the other side of the blade is the same head and inscription as above, and a man on horseback with the mottos, *Spes mea est Deo*; below it *Vincere aut Mori*.* The iron cap or head-piece covered with black velvet, and worn by the protector on Naseby field is now in the possession of Mr. Cromwell (a relation of the protectors) he resides in Essex St. Strand, London, and is clerk to St Thomas' Hospital.

The watch said to be worn by Cromwell at the time of the battle of Naseby, has been kindly submitted to my inspection, and I cannot but think its pretensions supported by very credible evidence. It is antient, massive, and beautifully studded with precious gems; it is in the possession of one, who has made the relics, of Charles and his times, a very particular object of inquiry, and whose affluence, combined with good taste and judgment, has in general attached to his cabinet, only the best authenticated and most valuable. But what I lay the chief stress upon is, the motto chased upon its dial, which

* I am inclined to doubt the identity of this sabre. It is well known, that the mark generally impressed upon the armour of the Protector, was the Sun and Moon (crescent) symbolical of his initials O. C.; besides if the date be correctly copied, it is seven years subsequent to the battle of Naseby; nor are its mottos like those usually adopted by the Protector.—full of scripture, pith, and pun.

is truly *Cromwellian*,—a sort of pun upon Scriptural phrase “WATCH and PRAY.”

The visitor of Naseby field will scarcely fail to direct his steps towards that seat of historical interest the Wooleys, or as it is now generally denominated Naseby Lodge. He will find the exterior of this little elysium embossed in a new creation, and its interior animated with an old one revived. Amidst the tasteful charms of its groves and shrubberies, he will not easily persuade himself, that he is ambulating what was but a very few years before, a dreary, sterile morass ; nor will he more readily convince himself, amidst its numerous, and well executed portraits of Charles I. Fairfax, Cromwell, Monk, and others of that restless period, that he is a being sharing in the peaceable sufferings of the nineteenth century. He will there inspect a choice collection of coins, medals, and other relics connected with the revolution of 1645 ; but I must forego the pleasure I should have experienced in a more particular description of this enchanting spot, “this garden on a desert waste,” in order that I may have space for the relation of some few remarkable

HISTORICAL COINCIDENCES.

King Charles the First permitted the impeachment of Lord Strafford on the 30th of January ; and on that very day six years after, the King himself was brought to the block. On the third of January 1648 the King adopted the fatal resolution of impeaching

the five members ; and on that day seven years, he was himself arraigned by the parliament. The fatal battle of Naseby field, was fought upon the 14th of June, the very day and month upon which his majesty, some few years before, signed the commission for raising forces ;—so that the civil war, might be said to commence and cease on the same day and month, in the respective years of 1642—5. Sir John Hotham, who shed the first blood in the civil war, in behalf of the parliament at Hull, was siezed that very day two years (10th of August) by the parliament, and executed at Hull. Lord Holland deserted the King, returned to the King, and was beheaded by the parliament on the same day (March 9th) in different years. Monk revolted to the parliament, and on that very day nineteen years, he declared for the King, and mainly contributed to the restoration. The parliament voted the government of England a common-wealth on the 25th of May 1658 ; and on the 25th of May 1660, King Charles the Second landed at Dover to restore the monarchy.

On the third day of September*—Essex was defeated in Cornwall ; Oliver Cromwell was declared Protector of England ; London was besieged and taken ; Cromwell's decisive victory at Dunbar ; his as decisive a victory at Worcester ; the commencement of his first parliament ; and on the third day of

* It will appear, that the Ides of March were not less fortunate and fatal to Julius Cæsar, than was the third day of September to the Protector Cromwell.

September he died : these were very striking fatalities of *times* ; I have also noted some curious ones of *circumstances*. The English parliament called in the Scots to invade their King, and were themselves invaded by the same Scots in defence of the King. The parliament raised an army to depose the King, and was itself deposed by that very army. The army broke three parliaments, and was at last broken itself by a free parliament, and all that it had done by the military power, was at once undone by the civil.

On the 23rd of May 1660 General Monk sent an order to Admiral Lord Edward Montague, to go over to the Hague for King Charles the Second, in order to his being restored to the throne and government of England. The Admiral took with him, *the Naseby Ship of War* with some others ; and it is very remarkable, that this monarch was brought over in the Naseby ship of war, to be restored to the crown of these realms, of which his father had been deprived by the fatal battle of Naseby Field. The King upon landing, immediately changed the name of the ship to that of the **ROYAL CHARLES**.*

* See Kennett's Chronicles.

FINIS.

ABBOTT, PRINTER, MARKET HARBOROUGH.

ERRATA.

- Page 6, Line 24, for *sepulchural*, read *sepulchral*.
9, 21, for *pyrimidical*, read *pyramidical*,
22, 8, (2nd note), for *from*, read *form*.
28, 7, for *sketch*, read *stretch*
32, 2, for *conciliary*, read *conciliatory*.
49, 7, for *rest*, read *wrest*.
48, 16, for *resource*, read *recourse*.

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